

THE ANTIENT
H I S T O R Y
OF THE

EGYPTIANS,	MEDES and PERSIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,	MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS,	AND
BABYLONIANS,	GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN.

VOLUME IX.

CONTAINING

The History of the GRECIANS.

G L A S G O W:

Printed by WILLIAM DUNCAN, junior.
MDCCLXIII.

1608/4567

THE HISTORY OF THE

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VOLUME IX

CONTAINING

The History of the Greeks.



G. A. S. C. O. W.

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MDCCLXXII

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K XIX.

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SEQUEL of the

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

HIS nineteenth book contains three articles. In the first the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related; he reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The 2d article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3858, and includes nothing more than one and twenty years. The 3d article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria continued almost a hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years from the twentieth year of Ptolemæus Philometor, till the expulsion of Ptolemæus Auletes, that is, from the year of the world 3845, to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

This article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

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A

SECT. I. *Perseus prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achaeans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the senate of them. Perseus attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with Perseus. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form.*

(a) **T**HE death of Philip happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already begun to put it in execution; which was to bring a considerable body of troops both horse and foot from European Sarmatia (part of Poland). Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnae. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce: they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnae were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it: If it should happen that the Bastarnae were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he

(a) A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 78. Liv. l. 40. n. 57, 58. Orof. l. 4. cap. 20.

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should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news and several accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

(b) Part of the Bastarnæ had pursued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate, without making any farther enquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care, that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube froze over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

(c) It was known at Rome, that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the † Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphos, upon pretence of consulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country,

(b) A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Freinsheim in Liv.

(c) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. Liv. l. 41. n. 27, 29.

† Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing thro' Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states thro' which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achaeans. Their league, and the city of Athens had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achaeans with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desired to make his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those, who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should explain whether their fears were just or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to establish commerce with

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them; without which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove, that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that in case of a war against the Romans, the league could not fail to declare for them. But, added he, whilst the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while.

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter, he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

(d) The ambassadors, sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evasion equally false. That for the rest it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they had found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

(d) A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Liv. l. 42. n. 2, 5.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors, whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes; tho' the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother, and of having committed many other murders both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects, and by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state, whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

(e) Perseus was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne

(e) Polyb. Legat. 60, 61.

with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every soldier and seaman, who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

(f) The Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly, to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in a right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia; without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit; except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Boeotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he

had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achaean confederates. That it was to Perseus the Aetolians applied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans. That supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, and provisions for ten years. That besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thousand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, tho' Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the best information. "For the rest, said he in concluding, "having discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoke, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master, and what Harpalus, one of them said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour. That

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the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Eumenes against the Rhodians; and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours, and great presents.

(g) Harpalus, having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not sorry upon that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures, and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass a breast. When the king came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down

(g) Liv. l. 42. n. 15, 19.

upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who stayed to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Ægina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother, and looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, tho' he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Ranimius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed thro' that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Ranimius did not dare to refuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies,

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and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two ambassadors who arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shewn him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expence of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

(h) As soon as Eumenes was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour excited by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors seeing they could not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he refer-

(h) Liv. l. 42. n. 25, 27.

red them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed in all the cities of aedonia thro' which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors, that had been sent to the kings their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus; and referred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans

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would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Coelosyria with him; and that the Romans employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had however declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, thro' his tender age, was incapable to resolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Coelosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masiniſſa supplied the Romans with corn, troops and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected in consequence to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he should chuse; and it seemed that if he adhered to

either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those, who gave entirely into the king's measures; some, because their debts and the bad state of their affairs made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the kings; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied, that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; and preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace, because then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged in either party.

The Romans after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprize they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of

Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said, that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia with his army, and that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more to Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

(i) The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They dispatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

(i) Liv. l. xlii. n. 37, 44. Polyb. Legat. 63.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished, that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am † assured, said he in concluding, that my conscience does not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprised as I now am, it is in my power to amend it, I have certainly acted nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with which I am pursued, as guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foundation, that the clemency and wisdom of the Roman people is universally extolled, if for such slight causes, as scarce merit complaint and remonstrance, they take up arms and make war upon kings in alliance with them."

† *Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse: et si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me et emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis, commisi: aut frustra clementiae gravitatisque vestrae fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quae vix querela et exposultatione dignae sunt, arma capitis, et regibus sociis bella inferis.* Liv.

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The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to give into it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas on the side of Perseus every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview the Roman ambassadors advanced into Boeotia, where there had been great commotions; some declared for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Boeotia by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation according to antient custom. In this manner the Boeotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed thro' a long course of time a republic, which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many cotincils, as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them, by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other cities in Boeotia, except Coronea and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Boeotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achaean league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men, to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which

troops were ordered thither immediately. Martius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome, in the beginning of the winter.

(k) About the same time Rome sent new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesiloichus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magistrate was so called) had prepared the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions, with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they shewed them a fleet of forty ships entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprize was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of this interview with Marcus, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. "If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be, said he, the mediators between the two nations. All the world is interested in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders not only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece, the more zeal and ardour you have for so great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard against whomsoever should attempt to inspire you with different sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain

(k) Liv. l. xlii, n. 45, 48. Polyb. Legat. 64, 69.

means to reduce Greece into * slavery, is to make it dependent upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourse to." The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, That in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them, in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors went also into Boeotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few small (1) cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcus and Atilius at their return to Rome reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Boeotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said they did not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing. That their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That indeed stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but that a victory, obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not

* Cum caeterorum id interesse, tum praecipue Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellent, quae serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus. Liv.

(1) Coronaea and Haliartus.

ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate, which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the public; and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa; lest upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Boeotia.

Tho' the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things, which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made upon the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The praetor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with five and forty gallies from Cephalonia, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land-forces.

SECT. II. *The consul Licinius and king Perseus take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Fight of the horse, in which Perseus has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter quarters.*

THE consul Licinius, after having offered vows to the gods in the capitol, set out from † Rome, covered

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with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every particular might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened thro' the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage of their generals. "What mortal, said they, can know the fate of a consul at his departure; whether we shall see him with his victorious army return in triumph to the capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from his succession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes, (or as colonels or brigadiers) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphaeum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to

suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost, but to render him formidable to those, who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of a part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head against, the Romans. That prudence required Perseus, while he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour of the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire; or whether he would choose to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in case of being victorious, having the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing

more inglorious than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. *Since you think it so necessary,* said the king, *let us make war then with the help of the gods.* He gave orders at the same time to his generals to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcideia. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and four thousand horse. It was agreed, that since the army Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquility, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we speak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that design a sudden death had prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time marched troops into Greece to take possession of the strongest places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a

pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which in his sense was much superior to the other, not only in the number and valour of the troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. "It remains therefore, Macedonians, said he in concluding, only to act with the same courage your ancestors shewed, when, having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the East, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered that unjust war with the false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear, that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms with your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultae, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium,

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a city situated at the foot of mount Oeta ; the consul's was at Gomphi in Theffaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenaeus : Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenaeus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, tho' in numbers sufficiently inconsiderable, and some galleys. Perseus in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pherae, in hopes, that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage ; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheraeans without opposition, thought it advisable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pherae. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being present) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and an hundred horse detached, with as many of the light armed foot, to take a

view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place, the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their intrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry, and light-armed foot towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news, could scarce find belief that the enemy was so near, because for several days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was con-

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firmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the consul's intrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, to about four hundred in number.

The consul having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre, with a select body of horse; two hundred Gallic horse, and three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reserved body. King Eumenes, and his brother Attalus with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about four thousand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slings and missive weapons, which were posted in front; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby the

more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service, when that wing gave way. For those horse, retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their intrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself, between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander † of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage

† Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace; or if he should chuse to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans lost two thousand of their light-armed infantry, at least, in this battle, and had two hundred of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side only twenty of their cavalry; and forty foot soldiers were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy; especially the Thracians, who with songs of triumph carried the heads of those they had killed upon the end of their pikes: it was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow kept a mournful silence, and filled with terror, expected every moment, that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panick. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but however, being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops by the favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat: but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the

night. For without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast and removes every thought, which might and naturally ought to have induced him to take quite different measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: *And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them,* 1 Sam. c. 26. v. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their ex-

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ample, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Theſſalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with ſeveral marks of honour.

The ſpoils taken from the Romans were not inconfiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, a thouſand cuiraffes, and a much greater number of helmets, ſwords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great preſents of them to the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, and having aſſembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was an happy preſage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon their victory over their Roman horſe, in which the principal force of their army conſiſted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promiſed himſelf from thence a more conſiderable ſucceſs over their infantry, who had only eſcaped their ſwords by a ſhameful flight during the night; but that it would be eaſy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them ſhut up. The victorious ſoldiers, who carried the ſpoils of the enemies they had ſlain upon their ſhoulders, heard this diſcourſe with ſenſible pleaſure, and promiſed themſelves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the paſt. The foot, on their ſide, eſpecially that which compoſed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealousy, pretended at leaſt to equal if not excel the glory of their companions upon the firſt occaſion. In a word, the whole army demanded with incredible ardor and paſſion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having diſmiſſed the aſſembly, ſet forward the next day, paſſed the river, and encamped at Mopſium, an eminence ſituate between Tempe and Lariffa.

The joy for the good ſucceſs of ſo important a battle affected Perſeus at firſt in all its extent. He looked upon himſelf as ſuperior to a people, who alone were ſo in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by ſurpriſe, and in a manner ſtohn by ſtrata-

gem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day; at first in keeping close, out of fear, in their camp; then when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security, but by being enclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself, and reflecting in cool blood upon all the consequences, which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, (1) taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel, of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That therefore he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle, nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received, would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men

(1) Polyb. Legat. 69.

for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty temerariousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace, that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy shewed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner, it was the custom * at that time to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was; That no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill-timed, a pride: most of them believed it needless to talk any farther of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from the consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycorium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself hap-

* Ita tum mos erat in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. Liv.

py, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions, than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory shewed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partisans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

The praetor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Boeotia (m). After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages laden principally with sheafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being born down by numbers, when the consul

(m) Liv. l. xlii. n. 64, 67.

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arrived to his assistance with a great detachment of horse and light-armed foot: the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broke and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four of the best horse, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhaebia, and taken Larissa and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achaeans; dispersed his troops into Thessaly, where he left them in winter-quarters; and went into Boeotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronaea had made incursions.

SECT. III. *The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul Marcius, after sustaining great fatigues, enters Macedonia. Perseus takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open: he resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome.*

(n) **N**othing memorable passed the following year. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thousand foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country, as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thousand men, raised among the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius,

(n) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.

upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way, with dreadful slaughter. Of eleven thousand men, scarce two thousand escaped into the camp, which a thousand had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

(o) This was the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Papilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially amongst the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions: but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority, prevented their conse-

(o) Polyb. Legat. 74. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

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quences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not sufficiently comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed, and it was resolved, that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horse.

About this time Attalus, having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be founded; who, determinate in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration for the prince who sent them, Eumenes, his brother, should be restored to the honours the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

(p) It was at this time Rome sent Papilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's

(p) A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. Liv. l. xliii. n. 11, and 13. Polyb. Legat. 76, 77.

being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how; and took it after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand, and sent a second embassy to him without mention of money; and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry, and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature? Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls, but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

(q) Upon the report that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and bad reports

(q) Polyb. Legat. 78.

that had been propagated against it, advised the Achaeans, to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know from him where and when the Achaean army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhaebia, between Azora and Dolichaea, greatly perplexed about the rout it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

(r) Perseus, who did not know what rout the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and countermarching without much design.

Marcus, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered part of the country called Oetolopha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and unpracticable, and had seized an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his passage. From thence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippas, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcus was in great trouble, not being able either to ad-

vance with safety, or retreat without shame or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to pursue an undertaking with vigour; formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determinate perseverance, often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had had to do with the antient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippas, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad affair, in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horses laden with the baggage sinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially gave them great trouble: it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon these beams they laid planks of thirty foot length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a third, and so on to as many of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams insensibly that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the second, and all the rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman

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army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

(s) As the consul seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprise, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcus with the decree of the Achaeans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war: Marcus, after having thanked the Achaeans for their good-will in the kindest terms, told them they might spare themselves the trouble and expence, that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army, till the consul, having received advice, that Appius surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achaeans a body of five thousand men to be sent him into Epirus, dispatched him home, with advice not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage in expences entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcus to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achaeans, or laying a snare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

Whilst the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; † sent the gilt statues at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures laid up at Pella should be thrown into the sea, and

(s) Polyb. Legat. 78.

† These were the statues of the horse soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lyfippus, and to be set up in Dium.

all his gallies at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he retired to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him, by two forests; by the one he might penetrate thro' the vallies of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter further into Macedonia; and both those important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king. So that if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass for provisions to him. For the ways thro' Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce sustain the view of them without dazling. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get thro' them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way thro' their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; * which would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel; for in making a fosse with intrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopt them short. But in the blindness, into which this fear had thrown the king, he neither saw, nor did, any thing of all the means in his power to save himself, left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the praetor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned to se-

* Quod nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat. Liv.

cure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprized, that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the praetor Lucretius had informed him, he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as he did Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror, to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence or importance.

(t) When Polybius returned from his embassy into Pe-

(t) Polyb. Legat. 78.

Ioponnesus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thousand men, had been received there. Some time after the council assembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, of which the Achaeans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means Polybius saved the Achaeans the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand crowns at least.

(a) In the mean time arrived ambassadors at Rome from Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth in a lofty style the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added: That whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that for three years, which

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 14, 15, 16.

this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniencies from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, all the answer that was given to it was to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say the senate answered in few words: That the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the praetor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers; that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country

where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himself from his councils under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECT. IV. *Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the praetor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus solicits aid on all sides. His avarice loses him considerable allies. The praetor Anicius's victories in Illyria. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus, near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate, granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, during the winter quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis, he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.*

(b) **T**HE time for the comitia, or the assemblies to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world

(b) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. xlii. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æm. p. 259, 260.

were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls, who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories, which had been obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to shew for peace; against Antiochus, who had been driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to chuse a general for his wisdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of presiding in so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired the general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, tho' he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more

gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made instances to him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the consulship: but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they summoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he gave in at last to their remonstrances, and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his colleague, tho' Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on seeing him fell a crying bitterly. He embraced, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, *You don't know then, said she, that our Perseus is dead, pappa.* She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called Perseus. *And at a very good time, my dear child,* said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word, *I accept this omen with joy.* The antients carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

(a) The manner, in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible of the number of the king's

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 18, 22. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 260.

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forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprised in all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of P. Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprizes of Antiochus king of Syria; which have been related in the preceding volume.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: That the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipaeus: that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines. That to the other inconveniencies, a very severe winter had happened, from which they could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and that they had only provisions for six days: that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to thirty thousand men: that if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius;

but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was intirely in want of seamen and soldiers: that those who remained, had not received their pay, and had no clothes: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shewn themselves, disappeared immediately, without any visible cause; and that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on: But that as for his brother Attalus, his good-will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after P. Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should set forward, without loss of time, for Macedonia, with the praetor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another praetor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops, of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to twenty-five thousand eight hundred men; that is of two Roman legions, each composed of six thousand foot and three hundred horse; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had besides, six hundred horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole in all probability did not amount to thirty thousand men. The praetor Anicius had also two legions; but they consisted of only five thousand foot, and three hundred horse each; which, with ten thousand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horse, composed the army under him of twenty-one thousand two hundred men. The troops that served on board the fleet were five thousand men. These three bodies together, made fifty-six thousand two hundred men.

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As the war, which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, seemed of the last consequence, all precautions were taken, that might conduce to the success of it. The consul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none should be elected into this employment, but such as had already served, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to chuse out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army: He had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen consul and general, the person amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his times. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more: by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to chuse such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a passion for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner. "You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I was elected consul, or entered upon that office; and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the hopes you conceived, that I should put an end, worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has already

been of too long continuance. " I have reason to believe that the same gods †, who have occasioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also assist me with their protection in conducting and terminating this war successfully: But of this I may venture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your expectations. " The senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary in the expedition I am charged with; and as I am ordered to set out immediately, I shall make no delay, and know that my colleague C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for the public service, will raise and march off the troops appointed for me, with as much ardor and expedition, as if they were for himself. " I shall take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an exact account of all that passes; and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I beg of you, as a great favour, that you will not give credit to, nor lay any weight out of credulity upon the light reports, which are frequently spread abroad without any author. " I perceive well, that in this war, more than any other, whatever resolution people may form to obviate these rumours, they will not fail to make impression, and inspire I know not what discouragement. " There are those, who in company, and even at table, command armies, make dispositions, and prescribe all the operations of the campaign. They know better than we where we should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for us to seize; at what time, and by what defile we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to have magazines; from whence either by sea or land we are to bring provisions; when we are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. " They not only prescribe what is best to do, but for deviating ever so little from their plans, they make it a crime in their consul, and cite him before their tribunal. But know, Romans, this is of very bad effect with your generals. All have not the resolution and constancy of Fabius, to despise impertinent reports. " He could chuse rather to suffer the people upon such unhappy

† It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the Divinity presides over chance.

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rumours to invade his authority, than to ruin affairs in order to preserve their opinion, and an empty name. "I am far from believing, that generals stand in no need of advice: I think, on the contrary, that whoever would conduct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and without counsel, shews more presumption than prudence. "But some may ask, how then shall we act reasonably? In not suffering any persons to obtrude their advice upon your generals, but such as are in the first place, versed in the art of war, and have learnt from experience what it is to command; and in the second, who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes, and sharers with us in all dangers. "If there be any one, who conceives himself capable of assisting me with his counsels in the war you have charged me with, let him not refuse to do the republic that service, but let him go with me into Macedonia: ship, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied him at my charge. "But if he will not take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle in the port. "The city of itself supplies sufficient matter of discourse on other subjects; but as for these, let it be silent upon them, and know, that we shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be given us in the camp itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shews that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticising and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that doing so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice: to reason; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up as censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions? To justice; for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot: the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general

rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

(a) Paulus Æmilius, after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the praetor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus on his side had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money, (that is three hundred thousand crowns) and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprize. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions, which he gave his ambassadors, were very solid and persuasive, as we are about to see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune.

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 23, --- 29. Polyb. Legat. 85, 87. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

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The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them one after another. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and in some measure by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious colour, of re-establishing the cities in their antient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom, that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy: neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him; the Romans, from being weary of a war spun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase

his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen hundred thousand crowns.) The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed also in another negotiation which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horse-man, five to the infantry, and a thousand to their captains. I have observed above that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice, that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders that in towns and villages, thro' which they were to pass, great quantity of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and habits; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off in the best terms the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general, and king of these strangers,

came directly to the point; and asked whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question; *Go*, said he, *and let your prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from hence.* The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but no body dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse; as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However they had a regard to his quality as deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice, by which he was go-

verned, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thousand crowns) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republic into an alliance with them. Pentauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had given orders underhand to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by small journies, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop for his farther orders. During all this time, Pentauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressing instances to the king to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and advice that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pentauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence, that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged

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against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the three hundred talents ; congratulating himself in secret, upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see, that he only kept it in reserve for the victor ; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, *That victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expence of victory.*

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace and to declare against that, which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring ; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius ; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome, that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come, and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy ; confessing with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The praetor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipæus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay he had thrown up good intrenchments, with towers from space to space, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at last repulse, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprize with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licence wherein it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops as the duty of centinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe him conduct, and to explain upon what he should or should not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to make only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean and in good condition; and of his † provisions, that he might be always in a readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be ne-

† The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

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cessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. No body was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and enouring themselves in all military exercises; so that it was easy to foresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy they were determined to conquer, or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface * was scarce broke up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, tho' natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardor of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises, by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted, and perceived plainly,

* Vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigenes turbidae primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deum dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoq; res duci famæ et auctoritatis apud milites adjecit. Liv.

that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, and Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpressible ardor to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news, but his care to dissemble it, only served to make it more public, and certain. This alarm was general amongst his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to the peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

To shew how little he made of the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable, that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly; perhaps upon account of provisions: for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipaeus. They observed that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius,

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with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the sea coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipaeus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to chuse what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw, that the Enipaeus, as well for its natural situation as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore, for some days, without making the least motion. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace, and so perfect a tranquillity. In any other times the soldiers would have murmured out of ardor and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent inquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhaebian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way thro' Perrhaebia, which led to Pythium, a town situate upon the brow of mount * Olympus: that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of five thousand men. He conceived, that in causing this post to be attacked in the night and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the praetor Octavius, and having opened

* The perpendicular height of the mountain Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or half a league.

himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days provisions with him for a thousand men; in order to make Perseus believe, that he was going to ravage the sea-coast. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nafica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: he gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the praetor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their rout by the coast, they advanced, without halting, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhaebian guides. It had been concluded, that they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Aemilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the course of the river itself, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the stream was a thousand paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Aemilius lay still and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

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Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprize him. The king terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thousand foreign soldiers, with two thousand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspense. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country, which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had great inconveniencies, and argued the prince reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himself by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded but executed in person. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they

would behave with double ardor, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light-armed foot and the archers a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season (for it was then about the end of summer) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses thro' defiles and forests, as

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had happened in the preceding years. He advised him therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly, replied the consul to young Scipio, I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present satisfy yourself, and rely upon the discretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, well convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

After having spoke thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers (a) covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchment, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable * law amongst the Romans, though they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprize. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for their retreat and refuge, and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

(a) *Hastati Principes Triarii.*

* *Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse. ----- Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt. --- Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Liv. l. xliv. n. 39.*

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers, with the consul's permission, had apprised them of the eclipse, and shewn them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one and twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of an hundred oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before were: First, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with

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which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain. In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here, * that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to desire, and behave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to chuse his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Tho' the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was however rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist those foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that

* Divisa inter exercitum ducēsq; munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cūctatione sapius quam temeritate prodesse. Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. x x.

the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw at the same time that the whole front-line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of bras, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression, that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rod through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves in consequence like desperate men upon that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, and to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave those such great strokes that flung upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to rush headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount † Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius saw that,

† That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered thick with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot; on the contrary, they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god, that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy: Whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx, where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran thro' the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm; so that at length the three thousand Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that five and twenty thousand men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only an hundred, and made eleven or twelve thousand prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in the battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Ro-

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rians, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of † ivy and crowns of laurel.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately dispatched three couriers of distinction, (of whom his son Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with

† This was a custom with the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, "That he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others covered with ivy." *L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera.*

all his horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high-road, and that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him, took different routs from his, under various pretences; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The

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king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

(a) He was encamped at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible-example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, *Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting*: The stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion, and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and supplicant style, and little consisted with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because on the one side Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius on the other insisted, that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the praetor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it, but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 3,---9. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontiers of Macedonia.

A young Roman (named Acilius) either of himself, or in concert with the praetor, took another course to draw the king out of his sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so. "How then, continued he, do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by an homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your very temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king, having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that sentence. He had his reasons for giving him this counsel, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing, that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The praetor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to

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embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant's ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures; they amounted to two thousand talents, that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds. But suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus with infinite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had entrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to the praetor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprised him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him; "What cause of discontent had induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers." When instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence; Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect. "Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprized at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies. But having been present in the war made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our side; how could you prefer war rather than peace, with a people whose force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had so well experienced?" Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question: "In whatsoever manner notwithstanding, resumed the consul, these affairs have happened; whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, or that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved in regard to many other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope only, but with almost intire confidence, that you will meet with the same treatment." He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: Then turning towards the Romans, "You † see, said he in his own language, a great example of the inconstancy of human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I address this discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to us every day, ought to teach us never to use any one with insolence and cruelty in our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true valour is never to be too elate in good, nor too dejected in bad, fortune." Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the

† Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsentī credere fortunæ: cum, quid vesp̄er ferat, incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cuius animum nec prospera statu suo effeget, nec adversa infringat. Liv.

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assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had (a) reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure, till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean to Arabia on one side, and the Indians on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn into different kingdoms after the death of Alexander by his successors, who took each a part to himself, subsisted during something more than an hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height, to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so much boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition, the world ever knew.

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth; Justin the thirtieth. It is thought there is an error in the cypher, and that it should be corrected, the fortieth, with Eusebius.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence in their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict enquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps the presage of a victory which either was already, or would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their signal protection vouchsafed the republic.

(b) After the nomination of new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and of that in Illyria to L. Anicius: Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free; in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by

(b) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 17,---18.

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them, in consideration for the Romans ; or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land-estates ; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax farmers, commonly called publicans ; and that wherever such sort † of farmers are suffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation ; lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions ; each of which had a distinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who either before or during the war had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty ; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

(c) Before the deputies for Macedonia arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited during the autumn the most celebrated cities of Greece ; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the

(c) Liv. l. xlv. n. 27,---28. Plut. in. P. Æmil. p. 270.

† Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem focis nullam esse. Liv.

camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenaeus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, *That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.*

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophœus, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the § oracle descended. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ébb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed thro' Oeropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by antient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: The citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians, to finish the

§ For an account of this oracle, see Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

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education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: A very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary however to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grand-father by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by his polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panaetius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a * writer of excellent sense, never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus which separated by a very small neck of land two

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisq; L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniiq; ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui; qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit ac sensit. Patere. l. i. c. 12,

neighbouring seas, the one on the east and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's master-piece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that † *this Jupiter of Phidias, was the exact Jupiter of Homer*. Imagining himself in the capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tower of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrius. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident, which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him with Philip his son into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought

† To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

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(a) Liv. l.

(c) Ibid. r

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from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners (a) being come thither, as had been agreed on with them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns; that it should have a public council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged: that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that should each have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined; and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The praetor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them: but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, and subsist only in their mutual support of each other.

(b) The consul afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

(c) After those foreign affairs were over, Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30.

(b) Liv. l. xlv. n. 31.

(c) Ibid. n. 32.

the senators, who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent to Italy, with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by P. Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs (a) succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparation had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expences; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according

(a) Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

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ALEXANDER's Successors. 37

to his rank and merit, and there was no body, who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance so distinguishing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts, and had caused them to be disposed in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration as himself. And as people were surprized at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius, which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterest and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to its being applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library

for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius (a) had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the senate, to abandon all the cities, that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons; in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples upon a certain day into the market place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the public place, and at ten of the clock the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses, that were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which wanted very little of seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had about ten pounds sterling, (four hundred denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (two hundred denarii.)

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

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(a) Liv. l.

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After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having assembled the remainder of Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

(a) Paulus Æmilius, being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the pro-consul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude in point of discipline rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom however they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian history. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 35,---40. Plut. in P. Æmil. p. 271.

caused to be made, and weighed (a) ten talents, was valued for the gold only, at an hundred thousand crowns: It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Behind these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus with his arms, and upon his arms his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children with their governors, praeceptors, and all the officers of their household, who shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who had little sense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children, and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, *The favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can procure it for himself.* He reproached in those few words his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

(a) The talent weighed sixty pounds.

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ALEXANDER's Successors. 91

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried by the order of the senate to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his antient services than late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom. That the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

This second article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECT. I. *Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Ætolians. All of them in general, who had favoured Perseus, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither: Polybius one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country, when only three hundred of them remained.*

(a) **A**mongst the different embassies from kings and states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him, more than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republic's aid against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity, that a prince could expect, who had approved in the army in Macedonia a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotia-

(a) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Polyb. Legat. 93. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, and 20.

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tions with Perseus, of which they had been apprised, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may serve to unvail it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who without doubt did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recal him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learnt from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took the advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them indeed

enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect. That Eumenes, having no male issue, (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him was not then in being) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it intirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprizes of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him at his years into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror. That not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the scepter from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same scepter at the feet of a victor, in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured, the very persons, who less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratus added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent and disinterested friend

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appear at such a time ! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely, and without reserve to him ; and of being known by them in that light ! The wise remonstrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state ; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Ænus and Maronaea, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised beforehand to send ambassadors, according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him, and before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronaea free and independent cities. They sent however an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius ; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and shewed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

(a) The senate some days after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unwor-

(a) Polyb. Legat. 93, 99, 100, and 104. Liv. l. xlv. n. 20,--25.

thy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as supplicants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Altymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to shew at first his desire to justify it. He knew, that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people: he confessed its faults: he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke had rendered still more criminal: but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there were no republic nor city, that did not include some bad members. That after all, there was no other crimes objected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant, (which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation) but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. "But," said he, the neutrality, observed by us in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity in regard to you. † Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself? but let your severity be carried to that excess, at least the punishment can fall only on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal; ought the real services we have rendered you in the two preceeding wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus bear witness now in our cause. "The voices of the two first will certainly be for

† Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse, ut si quis veller inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. Liv.

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us, and absolve us; and for the third, at most and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes; for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed? You may declare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. "If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report our deputation at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free persons will embark, with all our estates and effects; we will abandon our household gods, as well public as private, and come to Rome; where, after we have thrown our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives and our children, to your discretion. We will suffer here before your eyes whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us. "If Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of that calamity. You may by your resolves declare yourselves our enemies; but there is a secret sense in the bottom of our hearts that declares quite the contrary, and assures us, that whatever hostilities you may act against us, you will never find us otherwise than friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators with olive-branches in them to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by the order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia, in quality of consuls, praetors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Porcius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitled, *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own Orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius (a) has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears, he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it, at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energic style, which characterized the Roman eloquence in those antient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

Cato † begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends in the present case, they may form resolutions, which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity, says he, in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures, which a calm situation of mind would enable us to discern, and execute. "It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this affair, till having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we may be masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring, that the Romans should have conquered Perseus;

(a) Liv. 7. c. 5.

† Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secunde processit, nequid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto: secundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent a recte consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

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but that they had such sentiments in common with all other states; sentiments, which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their whole * crime, by the consent of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst us, that would be willing to subject himself to this rule? For my part, I am sure, I would not. The † Rhodians, it is said, are proud. "I should be very sorry, that my children could justly make me that reproach. But pray, in what does their pride affect us? Would it become us to make it a crime in them to be prouder than we are?"

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator, as Cato, prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for two hundred talents (about 25000 *l.*) of Ptolemy's general, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from these two cities an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents (or 15000 *l.*) At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For instead of a million of drachmas,

* Qui acerrime adversus eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censet quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nollim.

† Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt, id objectantes quod mihi a liberis meis minime dici velim. Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne irascimini, si quis superbior est quam nos?

(about five and twenty thousand pounds sterling) to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only an hundred and fifty thousand (about three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling.)

The senate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republic, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make the people next to insensible of small ones. How hard soever these orders were, they submitted to them and put them in immediate execution. They decreed, at the same time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of § ten thousand pieces of gold, and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost an hundred and forty years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic; which was a fetch of their politics. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; that continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove by that change all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared, that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

§ This might amount to about six thousand pounds, reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσός) at twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

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(a) I have before observed, that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lycifchus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment; and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The inquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: but why condemned if it was just; or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they had held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 28, 32.

those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that, besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of asserting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those, who had only the interest of the Roman commonwealth at heart, was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly, that was determined to consider, and treat all as criminals, who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all that should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours. We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Boeotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such, as in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

(b) Of all the small states of Greece, none gave the Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and

(b) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achæic. p. 416, 417.

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above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achaeans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achaeans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, should refuse obedience to the letters that should be wrote them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risque of their lives in the assembly: the second, because in the letters, which had been found amongst Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achaeans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other, (Pausanias does not say which) complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded, that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he should name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn persons before it was declared who they were,

and pressed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to explain himself, he replied at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have commanded the armies, and have had the honour to be chief magistrate of the league; I protest, that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the interest of the Romans, which I am ready to prove either in the assembly of the Achaeans, or at Rome before the senate." The Roman took hold of this expression, as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates should be sent to Rome, in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may justly be called tyrannical, caused above a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the Achaean league, to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achaeans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achaean league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman for his master; and for war, Philopoemen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors he imbibed

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those learned lessons of government and war, which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipio's. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achaeans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achaeans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

(c) The Achaeans, surprized, and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achaeans sent back the same deputies to Rome, (with Euracæas at their head) to protest again before the senate, that those Achaeans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euracæas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to

(c) Polyb. Legat. 105.

perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such inquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achaeans, who would do them justice in such a manner, as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece into a consternation. An universal murmuring succeeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing farther to hope for the accused Achaeans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

(d) However, they sent new deputies, with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as suppliants, and as a favour; lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared, that they would persist in the regulations already made.

(e) The Achaeans would not be rejected, and appointed several deputationes at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their

(d) Polyb. Legat. 121.

(e) A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160. Id. Legat. 129, 130.

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(f) Plut. in

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countrymen. Tho' their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to send home the exiles.

(f) The Achaeans, having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return to their country, and their being restored to the possession of their estates; and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn: "To see us, said he, dispute an whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece shall be interred by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, would not one believe, that we had nothing at all to do?" That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine it at last to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was for desiring that they might be re-instated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him, smiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops for some miserable tatters you have left there (g)." The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, seeing three years after he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

(f) Plut. in Cato Cens. p. 341.

(g) A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

SECT. II. *Mean flatteries of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in the senate. Eumenes, become suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name. Death of Eumenes. Attalus his brother succeeds him, as guardian to his son then very young. War between Attalus and Prusias. The latter having formed the design of putting his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marseilles. Digression upon the city of Marseilles.*

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment, they seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achaeans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes king of Pergamus, Prusias king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

(h) Prusias being come to Rome, to make the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes, and stockings of a slave made free; and saluting the deputies. *You see, said he, one of your freed men ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs.* When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, *I salute you, gods preservers,* cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman

(h) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Polyb. Legat. 97. Liv. l. xiv. n. 44.

(i) Polyb. Legat. 97, 100. Vol. IX.

people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason. For that that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted, it.

(i) Prusias had scarce left Rome, when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions; but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniencies, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republic, they forbid all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

(k) This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo Grecians his

(i) Polyb. *ibid.* (k) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. Polyb. Legat. 97, 102, 104, 105, 106, 119, 121.

neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians under-hand, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers Attalus and Athaeneus thither, to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made seemed finally to refute all complaints against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not however entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate dispatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

(l) Sulpicius acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a liberty that set all male-contentants at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies?

(m) Tib. Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Capadocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes.

(l) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 145.

(m) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

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That prince died some time after. His (n) son Ariarathes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called *Philopater*, that is, *lover of his father*. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

(o) As soon as the young king ascended the throne, he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans should be renewed, which was granted him, with praises.

(p) Some time after, notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius king of Syria, and one of his eldest brothers set in his place, who was a supposed son, named Holophernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed (q), that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus in the first year of his reign re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length after having reigned thirty eight * years. He left for his successor (r) in the kingdom his son Attalus, surnamed Philometer, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one and twenty years.

(n) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. Eleg. p. 895.

(o) Polyb. Legat. 127.

(p) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. 126.

(q) A. M. 3847.

(r) Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

* Strabo says, he reigned forty three years, but that is presumed to be an error.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul great and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He gave place to none of the kings (f) his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed preheminance, with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince. To finish his character, he possessed so full the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that tho' they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it: but I shall speak of that elsewhere.

(t) The division which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted, that he had failed of seizing Attalus, (u) let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. Attalus

(f) Polyb. Exempt. virt. & vit. p. 166. (t) A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. Polyb. Legat. 128, 129, 133, 135, 136.

(u) A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

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sent his brother Athenaeus to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded those orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. At this she was contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous armies both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came, that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their rout to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they presented him. This treaty imported; that Prusias should give immediately twenty deckt-ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred talents (five hundred thousand crowns) in the space of twenty years; that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they stood before the war; that Prusias in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them an hundred talents, (an hundred thousand crowns.)

When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

(v) Attalus the younger, son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome; in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuation of their amity, and without doubt to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his dominions.

(w) Prusias also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand, that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to dispatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrating, that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses his master had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The young prince (x) having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people into his party; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called *the Hunter*, and had

(v) Polyb. Legat. 146. (w) A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149.
Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.
(x) A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

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(y) Polyb.
(z) A. M.
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reigned at least six and thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

(y) This king of Bithynia's person had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but soft and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all, amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians (z), but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers, Carneades of the sect of the Academics, Diogenes of the Stoics, and Critolaus of the Peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking, that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and ornament exalted each other, transported and enchanted them. It was universally talked, that a Greek of ex-

(y) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

(z) A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

traordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw with great joy their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and inseparable from these wonderful men. Cato only seemed sorry for it; apprehending, that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge, and that they would prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the senators, for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city, and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

(a) The other embassy was sent by the people of Marseilles. They had already been often harrassed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city (b) where the insult had been offered to the Roman

(a) Polyb. Legat. 131, and 134.

(b) Egitna.

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ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by (c) origin of Phocaea, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return to Phocaea, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the forty-fifth olympiad, and six hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness, being dead, his son (d) did shew them much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country, as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion. that asked her companion to lend her her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her

(c) Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3.

(d) Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

whelps; then by great entreaties obtained a second term to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had in consequence at first a rude war upon their hands, but having been victorious, they continued in the quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

(e) In process of time they settled several colonies, and built several cities, Agde, Nice, Antibas, Olbia, which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies.

(f) So many new settlements contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learnt to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives*. Hence so surprizing an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

(g) The inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was Aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of six hundred senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

(e) Strab. p. 180.

(f) Justin. *ibid.*

(g) Strab. l. iv. p. 179.

* Adeo magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur. Justin.

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(i) Strab. p

(k) Lib. ii

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(h) The right of hospitality was in singular estimation amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

(i) They piqued themselves especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed an hundred pieces of gold, that is to say, very near an hundred pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus (k), who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city, says he, steadfastly retaining the † antient severity of manners, excluded from their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally turn upon the subject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. "Lest, adds the author, a familiarity with such sort of shews should make the people the more apt to imitate them"

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased §. "For, is it consistent to aban-

(h) Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.

(i) Strab. p. 181.

(k) Lib. ii. c. 6.

† Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

§ Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri nolu-erit?

don ourselves to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity, for not having thought fit to share his immortality with us?"

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of * Julia Procilla his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the most early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age: He adds, "What had preserved him from the dangers and disorders, to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own genius and disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united." *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mistum ac bene compositum.*

From what I have said may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and at the same time for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature were publicly professed there. This city produced (1) the most antient of the learned men of the west, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Augustus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which

(1) Voss. in Hist. Græc.

* Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. Tacit. in Agricola. c. 4.

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is saying a great deal. We have already seen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillians distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republic. † “ I am assured, says he, that not only in Greece, but all other nations, there is nothing comparable to the wise polity established at Marseilles. That city, so remote from the country, manners, and language of all other Greeks, situate in Gaul, in the midst of barbarous nations that surround it on all sides, is so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders, that it is more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom of its government.”

(m) They laid it down as a fundamental rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the Barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interest; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

(n) Justin relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and sil-

(m) Strab. p. 180.

(n) Just. l. xliii. c. 5.

† Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solum Græcia, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguaque divisa, cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbarizæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optimum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam æmulari. Orat. pro Flacco. n. 63.

ver, either of the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The (o) Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the public shews. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill successes, which they experienced in the first year of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Caesar, (p) against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteen senators, who were in supreme authority, to come to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Caesar this answer: † That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: That it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: That the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both it was incumbent upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They (q) suffered a long siege, in which they shewed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity, to which

(o) Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvi. n. 36.

(p) Caes. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

(q) Id. l. ii.

† Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virum discernere utra pars justiore habeat causam: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem patronos civitatis.---Paribus eorum beneficiis, parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portibus recipere.

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they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Caesar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the antient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports, antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECT. III. *Andriscus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The praetor Juventius attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated.*

(r) **F**ifteen or sixteen years after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans,

(r) A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152. Epiton. Liv. l. xlviii. 50. Zonar ex Dione l. i. c. 11. Florus l. ii. c. 14.

some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and entrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him, Philip, as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; pressing him to quit the country, before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, least he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing

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men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and, if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them; and without loss of time visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achaeans who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

(s) However, it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The praetor P. Juventius Thalna had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saved themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Caecilius Metellus, lately elected praetor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far

(s) A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman praetor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above five and twenty thousand men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon him the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: He retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time that Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed *Scrofa*, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos*.

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SECT. IV. *Troubles in Achaia; which declares war against the Lacedaemonians. Metellus sends deputies to Corinth to appease those troubles; they are ill used and insulted. Metellus, after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle and defeats them. The consul Mummius succeeds him, and after having gained a battle takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of Polybius. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.*

(t) **M**etellus, after having pacified Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arose amongst the Achaeans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those, who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achaean league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achaeans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease, till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diaeus who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league, and for that end to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under

(t) A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421, 428. Polyb. Legat. 143, 144. Id. in Excerpt. de virt. et vit. p. 181, 189. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

pretence, that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achaeans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedaemonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achaeans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achaeans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome: they carried him back with them to Ægium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achaeans themselves would have done; and were as reserved in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther; and to leave Lacedaemonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diaeus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord; insinuating, that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in, lest the Achaean league should declare against them.

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The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegaea (u), to treat there with the Lacedaemonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedaemonians to an accommodation with the Achaeans, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate went to the congress; and he did not arrive there, till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedaemonians; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He said, that he was not impowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedaemonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedaemonians in the conferences held at Tegaea, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion, which he himself had against them; and he only succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achaean for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedaemon. By that means whatever he said had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

(u) A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achaeans not to draw upon themselves by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achaean league.

Critolaus, seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, inflamed them against the magistrates, who did not enter into his views; flew out against the ambassadors themselves; animated them against the Romans; and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedaemonians, and in consequence directly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedaemon to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Boeotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Boeotians to join their arms with those of the Achaeans: they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achaeans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power, so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

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(v) The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achaean war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achaeans, with promises, that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent, that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphaea in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diaes took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achaeans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He gave orders besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves; others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with a thousand Arcadians in Boeotia, near Cheronaea, who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their

miserics, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diaeus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achaeans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diaeus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diaeus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Sosicrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition, when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and least another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard, being negligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achaeans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diaeus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achaeans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminencies, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they assure themselves of the victory.

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Never was there a more rash or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the service and councils all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the Isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprized by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little resistance; but as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broke and put to flight. If Diaeus had retired into the place, he might have held it some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to his despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis his country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without council, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any farther resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put

* This place is not known.

to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest moveables were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, tho' it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended, that the gold, silver, and brass, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year Carthage was taken, and destroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty two years after its foundation by Aleetes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear, that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Boeotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called

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* Major sustulerunt. posset aliqui Offic. l. i.

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the province of Achaia; because, at the taking of Corinth, the Achaeans were the most powerful people of Greece: the Roman people sent a praetor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to shew that example of severity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might canton themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia's being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated † hand in Greece; (w) representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for six hundred thousand sesterces, that is about three thousand six hundred and twenty five pounds sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless those sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the consul, surprized that the price of the painting

* *Majores nostri ----- Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxime, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.*

† This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, "All paintings are" nothing in comparison to the Bacchus.

(w) Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Pliny, l. vii. c. 38. & l. xxxv. c. 4, & 10.

in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. * He did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says, Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a master-piece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture; the merit of which he did not distinguish; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the present occasion. † He had ordered persons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to

* Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum suam, maluit. Quamquam Italia ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatio. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum-----Habere quæstui temp. non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam et nefarium. Cic. de Offic. l. 1. n. 76, 77.

† Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas reddituras. Non tamen puto dubites, Venici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantum ea intelligi; et quin hac prudentia illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. Vell. Patere. l. i. n. 13.

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Rome. Never had loss been so irreparable, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed, almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the exceeding delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings amongst the magistrates, was the occasion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. (x) If any thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopoemen, his master in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero, taken down, had the impudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. That accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopoemen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the later times; that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far: but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars

(x) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, 192.

against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners, before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopoemen should continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummus's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, tho' they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopoemen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diaeus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quaestor, who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of his fortune; beside which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Diaeus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

(y) This action made the commissioners conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness,

(y) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

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justice and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription: *That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but that after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer.*

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia; at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there (2) the esteem, gratitude and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king Andrisus was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five and twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

(2) Lucian, in Macrobius. p. 143.

SECT. V. *Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, declension, and ruin of Greece.*

AFTER having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us thro' a series of so many ages, with such fine examples of heroic virtues, and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states, that compose it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the antient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy, to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

(a) The Greeks, as Mons. Bossuet observes, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learnt the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, an effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is in-

(a) Universal History.

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volved in them : The Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion ; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle ; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived ; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjust and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or a continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions, which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state ; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions either in the armies by land or sea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the mean of fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprizing to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments, and services rendered the state.

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their country ; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissention and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty ; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of antient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests, at the expence of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government ; and we are tempted to demand of ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens ; whence these noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places or for the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle ; add to this, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty.

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury.

After Antiochus had submitted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty and the preservation of their antient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury: they however never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamin, and the antient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece, which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to shew.

Fourth age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this

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manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned the victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of powers from these causes gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude the more agreeable, coloured their design with avenging them upon their antient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands, which had conquered the universe, could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of its antient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its antient condition; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery; because the protectors, whom it called into its aid, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their antient ideas. After having, with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

(a) It did not lose with its power that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla (b), who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey, (c) who fought for the republic. Julius Caesar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Caesar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the antient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their antient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Caesarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened schools which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reasoning by justice and method: All the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance and perspicuity.

(a) Strab. l. 9.

(b) Plut. in Sylla.

(c) Diod. l. xlii. p. 191. & l. xlvii. p. 339.

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A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shews better the respect retained for the antient reputation of Greece, than a letter from Pliny (d) the younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus, appointed governor of that province by Trajan. "Call to mind, dear Maximus, that you are going into Achaia, the true Greece, the same Greece where learning and the polite arts had their birth; where even agriculture was invented, according to the common opinion. Remember, that you are sent to govern free cities and free men, if ever any such there were; who, by their virtues, actions, alliances, treaties and religion, have known how to preserve the liberty they received from nature. Revere the gods their founders; respect their heroes, the antient glory of their nation, and the sacred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great exploits, and even fables and vanity of that people. "Remember it is from those sources that we have derived our law; that we did not impose our laws upon them, after we had conquered them, but that they gave us theirs, at our request, before they were acquainted with the power of our arms. "In a word, it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedaemon you are to command. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which they retain of their antient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Iohannes Chrysostom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their source, all the prophane sciences. The emperors

(d) Lib. viii. c. 24.

themselves (e), who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to their being entrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole east, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes some-where, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek, was in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

It seems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am however obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly and at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This small chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a

(e) Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

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little, but it may be passed over, and recourse be only had to it, when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of an hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne, that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty-five, to three thousand nine hundred and forty-six.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also almost the space of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire, that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thousand nine hundred and thirty nine.

A chronological abridgment of the history of the kings
A. M. KINGS of EGYPT.

3824. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned something more than thirty-four years. This article contains only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother Evergetes or Physcon.

3859. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

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of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third article.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, suc- 3840.
ceeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns
only two years.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, son of Seleucus Philo- 3842.
pator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the
throne.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving 3851.
himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes,
seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by
the Romans.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reign-
ed twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost five 3859.
years. Ptolemaeus Philometor declares against
him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Deme-
trius Soter.

DEMETRIUS NICA-
TOR.

3859.

ANTIOCHUS THE- 3860.
os, son of Bala, support-
ed by Tryphon, seizes
part of the kingdom.

DIODOTES TRY- 3861.
PHON, after having got
rid of his pupil Antio-
chus, ascends the throne.

3863.

Demetrius marches
against the Parthians,
who take him prisoner
and confine him. He
had reigned seven years.

3874. Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra his first wife.

3877. Physcon re-ascends the throne.

3887. Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.

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KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra Demetrius's wife marries him. 3764.

Antiochus Sidetes 3873. marches against the Parthians.

Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.

The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain. 3874.

Demetrius is killed by Zebina.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA, supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after. 3877.

Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.

SELEUCUS V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra.

3880.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.

3881.

Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies soon after. 3882.

Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.

3884.

3887. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, succeeds
Phyſcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate
Cleopatra his eldeſt ſiſter, and marry Selena his
youngeſt ſiſter.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyrus to Alex-
ander her youngeſt ſon.

3897. Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt; He
had reigned ten years. She ſets his younger bro-
ther Alexander upon the throne.

3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom ſhe had
taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus
Grypus.

Grypus
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Death o
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ANTIOCHUS THE 3890.
CYZICENIAN, son of
Cleopatra and Antio-
chus Sidetes, takes arms
against Grypus.

Cleopatra, whom La- 3891.
thyus had been obliged
to repudiate, marries the
Cyzicenan. She is kil-
led by the order of Try-
phena wife of Grypus.

The Cyzicenan gains 3892.
a victory over Grypus,
and drives him out of
Syria.

Grypus is reconciled
with his brother the Cy-
zicenan.

The two brothers are 3893.
reconciled, and divide
the empire of Syria.

Cleopatra gives her 3903.
daughter Selena to An-
tiochus Grypus.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty se- 3907.
ven years.

SELEUCUS his son succeeds him.

Antiochus the Cyzi- 3910.
cenian is overthrown,
and put to death.

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A. M.

The HISTORY of
KINGS OF EGYPT.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3916. Alexander is expelled himself: He had reigned
nineteen years. He died soon after. LATHY-
RUS is recalled.

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KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

ANTIOCHUS XI, brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.

PHILIP his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.

DEMETRIUS EUCARES, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus.

Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSUS, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.

VOL. IX.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, son of the Cyzician, causes himself to be declared king.

Eusebes marries Selema widow of Grypus.

3911.

3913.

3914.

Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians.

He is re-established upon the throne by their means.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwise Berenice, and kills her seventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

3939. The Alexandrians expel Alexander.
PTOLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus,
is placed upon the throne.

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KINGS OF SYRIA.

A. M.

3921.

The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect **TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA**. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.

Eusebes takes refuge 3923. in Cilicia, where he remains concealed.

Selena his wife retains part of Phoenicia and Coelo-Syria, and gives her two sons a good education.

Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

Syria, being unprovided with troops, **ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS**, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him.

SECT. II. *Antiochus Eupator, aged nineteen, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long an hostage at Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabaeus against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two Ptolemies, brothers and kings of Egypt, terminated at length by an happy peace.*

* **W**E have long lost sight of the history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no small connexion with each other. I am now going to resume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

(a) Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, aged only nineteen, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter at his death sent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner, as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lyfias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted for the re-possession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

* It is treated last towards the end of book 18. article 2. sect. 2. and 3.

(f) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2. ix. 29. & x. 12, 13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

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Much about the same time Ptolemy Macron, governor of Coelo-Syria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, who had entrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For, how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length they did so much by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lyfias; no other post or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

(g) Judas Maccabaeus at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels, desirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience, with re-

(g) 1 Maccab. v. 1---68. 2 Maccab. x. 14---38.

gard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

(h) Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, who from the year his father died, had remained an hostage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interests of the republic than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences of the two kings of Egypt.

(i) Lyfias, terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabaeus, formed an army of fourscore thousand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourscore elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judaea, with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants that worshipped idols in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumaea and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabaeus, and the whole people, beseeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all toge-

(h) A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Polyb. Legat. 107. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117.

(i) 2 Maccab. ix. 1--38. x. 1--7. xiii. 1--24. 1 Maccab. v. 65--68. vi. 19--63. Joseph. Antiq. c. 12.

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ther, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there * appeared a horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

(k) After this check, Lyfias, weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the scripture says, *believing the Jews invincible, when supported by the aid of the Almighty God*, made a treaty with Judas, and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, without including the horse, which amounted to five and twenty thousand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved, that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity and success in war. He shewed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of an hundred thousand foot, with twenty thousand horse, two and thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with Lyfias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the

(k) 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

* It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.

head of it, and entered Judaea. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, **THE VICTORY OF GOD**, he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them in the night attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thousand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Tho' the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt, but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephants thro' the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortrefs of Bethsura. That place after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would like them have been obliged to surrender, if providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lyfias. But the divisions

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which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the east, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judea, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple; with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

(1) The troubles occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expres-

(1) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Porphy. in Cr. Euf. Scalig. p. 60, & 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 113. Epit. Liv. l. xlvi.

fed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him ; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had wore till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design by all these circumstances was to express the misery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them ; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank ; they assured him, that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprized them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it, till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth ; and orders were given to the questors and treasurers, to see him served and supplied, at the expence of the public, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him ; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon : Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been, with the generality of princes, no more than simple ceremonies and mere

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forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, though Cyprus should be granted him, his part would still be far from equal to his elder brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator. That, at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him, and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The senate seeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection: They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable, if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Deme-

trius who did not lose fight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

(m) During that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometor did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

(n) The Cyrenaeans, in the mean time, informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken pains underhand to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their

(m) Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

(n) A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161. Polyb. Legat. 132. Id. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

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protection. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenai-
ca; but made himself so generally hated by his subjects,
through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him,
wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon
the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometor;
and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again
a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against
him to the senate, shewed the scars of his wounds, and ac-
cused him of having employed the assassins from whom he
received them. Tho' Philometor was the most humane
of all princes, and could not be the least suspected of so black
and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his
refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard
to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with
too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high
against him, that they would not so much as hear what his
ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent
them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the se-
nate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into
Cyprus, and to put him into possession of that island, and
wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose
with all their troops.

(o) Physcon by this means, with an army, which seemed
to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in
the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person,
beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho,
where he was soon invested, besieged, and at length taken,
and put into the hands of a brother he had so cruelly injur-
ed. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this oc-
casion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was
expected, that having him in his power, he would make
him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned
him every thing, and, not contented to forgive him his

(o) A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157.

faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments which rise from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

SECT. III. *Octavius, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the name of Soter. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabaeus; death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a conspiracy against him. Demetrius is killed in a battle. Alexander espouses the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. Demetrius, son of the first of that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. Alexander is destroyed. Ptolemy Philometor dies at the same time.*

(p) **W** E have seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the great, after the battle of mount Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of

(p) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. 114, and 122. Cicero. Philip. 9. n. 4, 5. Justin, l. xxxiv. c. 3.

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the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person, named Leptinus, was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lyfias the regent of the kingdom had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome to justify the king, and to protest, that he had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify by that silence their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, of which they reserved the examination and punishment to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men, who had lost their lives in the defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon shewed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had always the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification of a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with most warmth to put it in immediate execution with secrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited

* This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family, who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. 9. n. 4. ---Octavius, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

for him †. It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he had stollen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Gracchia into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

(q) Demetrius having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lyfias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of these two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity; because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes: this man gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judaea, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers; advancing a thousand calumnies against them.

† That ship carried to Tyre, according to custom, the first fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

(q) 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. and 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii, xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

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He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judaea at the head of an army, and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple, when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprizes of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree,

by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him in case he persevered to do so. But, before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received the news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judaea. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas, with that small number, thro' an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitude. His loss was deplored throughout all Judaea and Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recal Bacchis.

(r) Demetrius indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he sent again into Pamphylia, afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them, that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, ob-

(r) A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 162. Polyb. Legat. 120.

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tained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

(s) To cultivate their amity, he sent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thousand § pieces of gold, as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had upon all occasions taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

(t) Demetrius, who found himself without war or occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and shut himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and on the

(s) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Polyb. Legat. 122. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. 25.

(t) A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin, l. xxxv. c. 1.

§ They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

other to the pleasure of good chear and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administred; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was a general suspension of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown, if the enterprize succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed (u). The malecontents were supported underhand by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing some body to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, at the same time Timarchus his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to form a man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him and instructed him fully in all that was necessary to say or do.

(u) Polyb. Legat. 138. and 140. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x, 1---50.

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(v) When he was fully prepared he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was meer fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of the king of Syria. Many of the malecontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judea, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still out-bid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had had the true interest of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they

(v) A. M. 3851. Before Christ 153.

dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at pleasure.

(v) The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having besides this the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order, if any accident should happen, that they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

(w) It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andrius played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour.

(x) The two competitors for the crown of Syria having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot

(v) A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.

(w) A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151.

(x) A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

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in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return, they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were capable of, which might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander by this victory found himself master of the empire of Syria.

(y) As soon as Alexander saw himself at repose, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him, and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

(z) Onias, son of Onias III. having been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite, and most intimate confidant. He made use of his credit at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: At the same time, the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretels this event in these terms (a): *In that day shall five cities in the land*

(y) 1 Maccab. x. 51, 66.

(z) Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

(a) Isa. xix. 18--21.

of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; the one shall be called the city of destruction. (M. Rollin says, the city of the sun, or Heliopolis.) In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord and perform it.

The event here foretold by Isaiah, is one of the most singular, and at the same time the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews than to offer sacrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more in consequence to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

(b) Alexander Bala, finding himself in the peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia, Antigonus, Demetrius's son, who had continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood royal he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that

(b) A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. Liv. Epit. lib. 1. Justin; l. xxxv. c. 2. Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67, 69. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

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means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counsel and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of male-contents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could assemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Coelo-Syria and Phoenicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander: But his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost above eight thousand men.

(c) Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

(c) A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146.

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The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to shew their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

(d) Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with five hundred horse to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person, in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of *Nicator*, that is to say the Conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

(d) A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.

* He is called Emalcnel in the Maccabees.

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(e) A.
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SECT. VI. *Physcon espouses Cleopatra, and ascends the throne of Egypt. Demetrius in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seizes Jonathan by treachery, and puts him to death. Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. Cleopatra his wife espouses Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, and places him upon the throne of Syria. Physcon's excessive follies and debauches. Attalus Philometor succeeds Attalus his uncle, whom he causes to be regreted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. Arifonicus seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.*

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place (e) the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence, caused Onias and Dosithaeus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon given to this prince, was only a nick-name. That which he took himself was *Evergetes*, which signifies *the Benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoer-*

(e) A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145. Joseph. contr. Ap. l. ii. Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. l. 9. c. 1.

getes, that is to say on the contrary, *one who delights in doing harm*; a surname to which he had the justest title.

(f) In Syria affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lathenies, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phoenicia and Syria to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan, however, seeing every thing quiet in Judaea, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from

(f) Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 346. 1 Maccab. ix. 20---37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

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the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan, to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations, which had been formed against him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of (g) three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

(h) The king being returned to Antioch, and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antiochus with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting an hardy enterprize, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been entrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young

(g) Three hundred thousand crowns.

(h) Justin, l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39---74. xii. 21---34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. 52. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights. His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give into it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, to solicit and press him. At length, between the force of importunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem (i) with vigour, but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison, which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people had conceived an invincible aversion to his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him three thousand men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly, that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose to the number of six score thousand men, and invested the palace with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed that multitude with fire and sword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judah and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned home laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppressions, put many more persons to death for the last se-

(i) A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144.

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dition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Tho' the sum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other male-contented, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the surname of *Theos*, which signifies *the God*.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Coelo-Syria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemies.

(k) Tryphon, seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of

(k) 1 Maccab. xii. 39, 54. xiii. 1---30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

Syria, found no other obstacle to his design, than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to find him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judaea with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of forty thousand men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except three thousand men, of which he kept only one thousand about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he should be put into the possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also dispatched directly to follow and surprize the two thousand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan, and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were affraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to compleat the fortifications begun by Jonathan, at Jerusalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

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Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king an hundred talents; (l) that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Tho' Simon saw clearly, that this proposal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor notwithstanding did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judea, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, (m) on his return into winter quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death, and believing after that he had no body to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of victory of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

(l) An hundred thousand crowns.

(m) A. M. 3861. Ant. J. C. 143. Diod. Legat. 31.

(n) The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea (o), and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince, a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

Demetrius at length (p) recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the east, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almost overrun the whole east, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus, and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, extremely solicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the east. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the east, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

(n) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16---40.

(o) Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34---41. and xiv. 38---41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

(p) A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5. and 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1---49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. and 12. Orosius l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

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As soon as he appeared in the east, the Elymaeans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatus, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed, this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatus was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state than the advancement of his own family, and to forget in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince after having subdued the Medes, Elymaeans, Persians and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

* Non multo post decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus praeteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiusque patriæ quam liberis consulendum. Justin.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by shewing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, tho' in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, out of which he composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard-of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wise customs of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars, with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of

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the priests, the elders, and the whole people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high priest: they declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

(q) When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Those desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should chuse rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed, that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she observed no measures any farther, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their rights. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

(q) A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140.

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This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon, wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, of whom he promised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater when he should ascend the throne.

Accordingly the beginning of the following year, (r) he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phoenicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of Phoenicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, from the word *Zidah*, which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judaea, by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged

(r) A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139. 1 Maccab. xv. 1---41. xvi. 1---10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii, c. 11, and 12.

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under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate in consequence caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, † Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the Islands, with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in consequence they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interest of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judaea under the command of Cendebeus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

(s) Physcon had reigned seven years in Egypt. History relates nothing of him during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the same time so cruel and bloody. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, en-

(s) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Just. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. and l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, and 2.

† This letter was addressed to Demetrius, tho' prisoner amongst the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

tered into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became his captain-general, and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council; by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

(t) But, in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that first minister were no longer capable of restraining the folly of his prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenaeus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whosoever would come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragement and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well. The houses, that had been abandoned, were given to them, and all the rights, privileges and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the antient inhabitants; by this means the city was re-peopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the li-

(t) A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136.

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beral sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Islands; in a word, in every place, to which these illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries, and they would have been intirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his musaeum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second, and third, following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied, or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpose, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive where-ever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds, to (u) re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go

(u) Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273. and l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. 32.

into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They discharged themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts where they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit amongst them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Panetius the Philosopher, and five domestics *. Not his domestics, says an historian, but his victories was considered: He was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Tho' during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp soon assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themselves, the infinite number of cities and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its soil,

* Cum per socios et externas gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriae numerabantur; nec quantum auri et argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret, aestimabatur, Val. Max.

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and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found, that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices I have already mentioned, and shall be obliged to give farther proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his * body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind: Nothing was ever worse put together. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of *Physcon*. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all its deformity might be seen thro' it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, smiling; *The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot.*

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings, of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprizing to see in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparifon is there between those monsters of dissoluton and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst

* *Quam cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim et vultu deformis, et statura brevis et sagina ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam fæditatem nimia subtilitas perlicidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda praeberentur, quæ omni studio occultanda pudibundo viro erant.* Justin, l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus says, *προει μνησποτε πεζος ει μη δια Σκιπριωνα*. Which the interpreter translates, *Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus; (instead of) nisi propter Scipionem.*

he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

(v) Attalus, king of Pergamus, died about the times of which we now speak. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, tho' he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been taken very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to shew himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and ate no longer in public. He put on old cloaths, let his beard grow, without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to

(v) A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 370.

do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himself, and sowed all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He past all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He took it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off (w) in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, (x) LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY FORTUNES. As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect, That all the ready money, which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to

(w) A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.

(x) Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin, l. xxxvi. c. 4. and 37. c. 1. Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. v. c. 8---10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time afterwards.

Aristonicus, (y) however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtesan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

As his party grew stronger every day, the (z) Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him; which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

Notwithstanding such powerful supports, (a) having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of pro-consul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, intirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

He sent Aristonicus to (b) Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his

(y) A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132.

(z) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

(a) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

(b) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

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place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and sometime after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocaea, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war, as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocaea, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As just as their indignation was against Phocaea, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent solicitations, of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they dispossessed his son, the great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have had the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Maegara, whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

Manius Aquilius, at his return to (c) Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shewn there as a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where

(c) A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126.

he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having * forged a false will of Attalus's, in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: But it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprizing that Horace, in one of his Odes, seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate, that they had attained the succession by fraud:

(d) Neque Attali
 Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.
*Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
 The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.*

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or sollicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

(d) Hor. Od. 18. l. ii.

* Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxerunt. Apud Sallust. infragm.

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SECT. V. *Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. That city surrenders by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians and perishes in it. Phraates, king of the Parthians defeated in his turn by the Scythians. Physcon commits most horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. Cleopatra, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of Demetrius, and is soon reduced to leave Egypt. Physcon returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means Zebina dethrones Demetrius, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, and Zebina. Antiochus Grypus ascends the throne of Syria. The famous Mithridates begins to reign in Pontus. Physcon's death.*

SIMON having been slain (e) by treason, with two of his sons, John, another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judaea, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person, pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws,

(e) A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 135. 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. Eclog. l. p. 901.

customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations: that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judaea: The peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of (f) five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, going (g) to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the * questor, to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

Demetrius Nicator (h) had been kept many years in cap-

(f) Five hundred thousand crowns.

(g) A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Epit. Liv. l. lvii.

(h) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. and 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. and l. 10. p. 439. and l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

* The questor was the treasurer of the army.

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tivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of meer goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this design or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army was upwards of fourscore thousand men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thousand. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but if two thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those that administered to it. * Gold and silver glittered universally, even upon the legs of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

* Argenti auriq̄ue tantum, ut etiam gregari milites caligas auro fingerunt, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuisse quasi ad epulas, non ad bella pergerent. Just.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his antient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the (i) winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they insulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests that nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was over-powered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners: so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch (k) relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunt-

(i) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

(k) Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 184.

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ing, made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them, by way of reproach, *Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday.*

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates, before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and having found one of his daughters among the captives, he was struck with her beauty and married her.

Antiochus being dead, (1) Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and divisions, which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off intirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

(1) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Justin, l. xxvi. c. 1.

Phraates (m), flushed with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home to remove all thoughts of inquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Antiochus, as we have seen, he had demanded aid of that people. When they arrived the affair was terminated, and having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice, and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates' uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, ano-

(m) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. Justin, l. xxxix, c. 1. and l. xlii, c. 1, and 2.

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ther Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.

During all these revolutions (n) in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and supply the places of those his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

But first, apprehending (o) that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-

(n) A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2, 7. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Epit. lix, lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 374, 376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

(o) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed, that Cleopatra whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head intire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marfyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marfyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon; it was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave his pardon, and set him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost intirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius king of Syria,

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who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius without hesitation accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleopatra queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the lifetime of her father Philometor. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had re-possest himself of Syria: she kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother came to her.

Physcon, (p) as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-assumed the government. For after the defeat of Marfyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was no-body in condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Physcon lent him an army to put him into possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than without examining the justice of his pretensions the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to

Demetrius. They were in no pain about the person who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus in Coelo-Syria. Demetrius was intirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age, of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest, and to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent the preceeding year an (q) embassy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken several cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places of which he had made cession to them: and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem; upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute,

(q) Joseph, Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

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or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

At the time we speak of (r), incredible swarms of grasshoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Lybia, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thousand souls.

We have said, that Cleopatra (s) had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of which, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman, and a mother, could be capable of committing so horrid and excessive a crime: but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having recourse to poison; because urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom

(r) A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125. Epit. Liv. l. lx. Oros. l. v. c. 11.

(s) A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124. Liv. Epit. l. lx. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

of Syria. . Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to reconcile them. They submitted, and he pardoned them with most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all that approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

Cleopatra, (t) after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority she intended to retain entirely to herself. She rightly distinguished, that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that should set up for it. She therefore caused her other son Antiochus to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from the other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of * *Grypus*, taken from his great nose. . Josephus calls him *Philometor*; but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

(t) A. M. 3981. Ant. J. C. 123.

* Γρυξος, in Greek, signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

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Zebina (u) having well established himself after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of a party of the Syrian empire, Physcon who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expenses of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

After the defeat and death of Zebina (v), Antiochus Grypus believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself absolute mistress of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in it during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself, and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or re-

(u) A. M. 3882. Ant. J. C. 122.

(v) A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

source, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard-of crimes had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of † three kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands, and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity; till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt (w), after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

(w) A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117. Porphy. in Graec. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

† The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenean, by Antiochus Sidetes.

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SECT. VI. *Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds Physcon. War between Grypus and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum for the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcanus fortifies himself in Judaea. His death. Aristobolus succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by Alexander Jannaeus. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places Alexander his youngest brother on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of Grypus. Ptolemy Apion leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians chuse Tigranes king. Lathyrus is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. Alexander his nephew succeeds him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.*

PHYSCON (x) at his death left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to chuse. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to chuse him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the king to recal him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some au-

(x) A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 119. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem, et in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. and l. vi. c. 30. Porphyry. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

thors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that is but a kind of nick-name, no-body dared to give it him in his own time.

Antiochus Grypus (y), king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judaea, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the Propontis in Mysia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had intrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

Cleopatra, (z) whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an † army for her dowry, to assist him against his competitor. Their forces by that means being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the misfortune to be defeated retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

(y) A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114.

(z) A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113.

* *Δαδρυος* signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin *cicer*, from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name had been inconsistent.

† We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words; 'exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit;' which shews that Cleopatra having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read (Cypri) instead of (Grypi), which implies, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

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But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Triphena his wife was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Tho' her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable. Grypus would not have a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the sanctity of the asylum, where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenean. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations. That Cleopatra was her sister, and his near * relation. That therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities †. Tryphena, far from giving into his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy; and imagining, that it was not from the motive of compassion but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner; she therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands, with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of

* Her father Physon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

† Sed quanto Grypus abnuvit, tanto furor muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non misericordiarum hæc verba, sed amoris esse. Justin.

retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished (a). The Cyzicenean returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian (b), but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenean had Coelo Syria and Phoenicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers (c) were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenean, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

The two brothers after this victory (d) returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenean, to solicit him to

(a) A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112.

(b) A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111.

(c) A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 17, 19.

(d) A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

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come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who granted six thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who intirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation; and out of regard for them she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenean joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprize, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Schythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were intirely razed and laid level with the ground; and to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large

and deep ditches to be cut thro' the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod who gave the new city he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebastos in honour of Augustus.

* Hyrcanus (e) saw himself at that time master of all Judaea, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquility with regard to foreign affairs.

But towards (f) the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured by all sorts of favours to engage them in his interests. Besides having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before, he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, That it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: That he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of

(e) Σεβαστος, in Greek signifies Augustus.

(f) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 108.

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a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire, that the truth should be told you with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the high priesthood, and content yourself with the civil government." Hyrcanus was surprized, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, that it was known from the testimony of ancient persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar (g) would have had reason; for the law was express in that point: but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all that were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure however occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and in consequence his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judaea, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, intirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered, than to the law itself, tho' often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and in consequence another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the people. But under that impositious appearance, they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy,

(g) Liv. xxiv. 15.

that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presume to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was still their more distinguished characteristic, and out-did all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the great council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the meer suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principal of the Pharisees upon the punishment due to him, who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged, and imprisoned. So much lenity in so hainous a case made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited by decree the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance: and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus (h) did not long survive this storm: he died

(h) A. M. 3897. Ant. J. C. 107.

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the year following, after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus (i) had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment so high upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons (k), and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly at Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that he had used them so barbarously for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence, and inflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he desired to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent soon after for Alexander her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

Alexander, (l) king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changed their sentiments. from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with

(i) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.

(k) Those two sons died before him.

(l) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20, 21.

Alexander, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine, Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost thirty thousand men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces and put into cauldrons in order to their being dressed, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed, that his troops ate human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, Alexander had been undone. For after so considerable a loss it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

That (m) princefs saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judaea and Phoenicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that

(m) A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103.

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purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananians, the two Jews, of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phoenicia (n). She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. For their security, in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grand-son Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Coelo-Syria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence, in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phoenicia. He was mistaken. The troops (o) Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those detached to reinforce them from Phoenicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestine, and took up his winter quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra however pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend him to her favour. But

(n) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. Et de bel. civil. p. 414.

(o) A. M. 3902. Ant. J. C. 102.

what conduced most to his success, was her hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court observed to her, that she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judaea, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her, how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually used his reasons and credit, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus (p), after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design and returned into Cyprus. She on her side retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

Being (q) informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyziceniian, and that, with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time a considerable number of troops, and great sums

(p) A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C. 101.

(q) Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4.

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(r) A. M.

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of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenian with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himself safe near her, and chose to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear, in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant sollicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, tho' they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

The death of Antiochus Grypus (r) happened this year. He was assassinated by Heraclion, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucharès, and Antiochus Dionysus. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

Ptolemy Apion (s), son of Physcon king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who instead of taking the advantage of that legacy, gave the cities

(r) A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

(s) A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Epit. Liv. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.

their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

Antiochus the Cyzicenean seized Antioch (t), after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia (u) who had been kept an hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates king of the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The Cyzicenean (v), who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus *, where he caused himself to be crowned king. From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory (w) over him, and obliged him to flout himself up in Mop-

(t) Porphy. in Graec. Scal.

(u) A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

(v) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphy. in Graec. Scal.

(w) A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93.

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soestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

Antiochus and Philip, the twin (x) sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But, on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selenia the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself of that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucharis, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip however still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands almost at the same

(x) A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

time: this was Antiochus Dionysus, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Coelo-Syria, and supported himself in it for three years.

Affairs (y) were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt, but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history hath for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidents; who all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious, and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful, than upon these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it in the loudest manner.

(y) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Justin, l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan, in Antic. p. 15. Athen. l. 12. p. 550.

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As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

The Syrians (z), weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans; and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy, named Megadates, whom he did not recal from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action against Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phoenicia and Coelo-Syria, and (a) reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an edu-

(z) A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. Justin. l. xl. c. 1, and 2. Appian in Syr. p. 118. Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

(a) Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 296.

cation worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Sometime (b) after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels; being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken, after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that from being a city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

Lathyrus did not long survive the (c) ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but, by the established custom of that house, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla (d), at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir-male of the defunct. He was the son of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla the master of Rome, and in consequence dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after her marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as

(b) Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

(c) A. M. 3923. Ant J. C. 81.

(d) Appian. de bell. civ. p. 414. Porphy. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

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any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into fashion among princes and princeesses.

Sometime (e) after Nicomedes king of Bithynia died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica also did the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had passed since, during which term, sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECT. VII. *Selena, sister of Lathyrus, conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt, she sends two of her sons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called Antiochus, on his return, goes to Sicily. Verres, praetor of that island, takes from him a golden scone, designed for the capitol. Antiochus, surnamed Asiaticus, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of his dominions by Pompey, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judaea and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel Alexander their king, and set Ptolemy Auletes on the throne in his stead. Alexander at his death makes the Roman people his heirs. In consequence, some years after, they order Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, to be deposed, confiscate his fortunes, and seize that island. The celebrated Cato is charged with this commission.*

SOME (f) * troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made

(e) A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. de bell. civil. l. i. p. 420. Epit. Liv. l. lxx, and xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

(f) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Cic. 6. in Ver. Orat. n. 61, 67. * Reges Syriae, reges Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romae nuper fuisse: qui venerant non propter Syriae regnum, nam id sine contro-

Selena the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest *, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shews how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time praetor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He

versia obtinebant, ut a patre et a majoribus acceperant; sed regnum Aegypti ad se et Selenam matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrum profecti sunt.

* Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque isto (Verre) prætore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus venerat is, quem iste et audierat multa secum præclara habere, et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abutabatur, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea. --- Omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiose ornatum, et se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.

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then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate; for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the praetor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had made him.

He * invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand, one after another, praises and admires them; the king rejoices that the praetor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

From † thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to trifle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of shewing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The praetor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the great vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider them more exactly, as he said. The king sent him that also.

* Vocat ad coenam deinde ipse praetorem. Exponit suas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regius, et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi. ----- Iste unumquodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere praetori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium.

† Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare iste nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis cælatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non nosset, sine ulla suspitione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.

But to crown all : * The kings of Syria, of whom we speak, had carried a branch-sconce with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it ; in order, that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprize might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendor to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres † was informed of all this by some means or other ; for the prince had taken care to keep the sconce concealed ; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before exposed to the public

* Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite--Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent : quod nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgo ostendere ac proferre voluerunt ; ut, et magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, et clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

† Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat : non quo quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iste petit a rege, et cum plurimis verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat : cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videndi protestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quo posteaquam attulerunt, involucrisque rejectis constituerunt, iste clamare cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et plurimis gemmis esse debebat ; ea varietate operum, ut ars certare videretur cum copia ; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset non ad hominum apparatus, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum,

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view of the Romans. The praetor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let no-body else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sconce secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the praetor beheld it, he cried out, this is a present worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus, having given the praetor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The * king was not alarmed at first and had no suspicion: one day, two days, several days passed, and the sconce

esse factum. Quod cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubet illos discedere, et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

* Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit istum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare et vehementer petere cepit. Cum ille se religione Jovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multae nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari acerrime cepit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discedere. Ait se comperisse ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

as not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the praetor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? that very sconce which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action: the praetor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The † king upon that withdrew to the public place, and with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a sconce of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and jewels which Verres had from him; but that to see that sconce taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconsolable. That tho' by his own, and the intention of

† Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare coepit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suae societatis amicitiaeque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De caeteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quae sua penes illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente et cogitatione sua fratrisque sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem suae voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

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his brother, that scone was already consecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart and the piety of his intentions.

Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey (g) deprived him of his kingdom, during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province a king had been so grossly injured by the praetor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence. And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into the provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We * have seen for several years," says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, "and have suffered in silence, the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now inclosed in some of the country-houses of those rich and unjust men of rapine, whilst money is universally a prodigious rarity every where else. And we have just reason to believe, that ourselves connive in all these crying and terrible disorders; as those who commit,

(g) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 65.

* Patimur multos jam annos et silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur.---- Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam, totam denique Asiam, Achaiam, Graeciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis. Cic. in Ver. ult. de suppl. n. 125, 126.

take no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations from the eyes and knowledge of the public."

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: to which however we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be rid by them. His death (h) did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir, but Aristobulus his younger brother had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing (i) but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed Auletes, that is to say, *The player upon the flute*, because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand

(h) A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. Joseph. Antiquit. xiii. 23, 24. et de bell. Judaic. 1, 4. and A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

(i) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 11. Trogus in Prol. 39. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

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aid of him: Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. Some (k) were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that this enterprize might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state are war, victo-

(k) Cic. Orat. 2. in Rullum. n. 41, 43.

ry, conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but is no less dangerous on that account, I mean seduction: When to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they were more solicitous either in public or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendor to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: And next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors; for bastards were not look-

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ed upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to chuse ; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom ; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting republican government ; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury : And the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependance upon musé laws that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this ; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition ? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans, out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift the king had made them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up to cabals and in-

trigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or latter. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence long against them? There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people; and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yield to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced by reiterated defeats to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achaeans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind, and generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to assure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their antient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying intire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniencies and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republics of Greece in the times of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in

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ransoming themselves from these inconveniencies, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors. But those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedaemonians against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages, occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans intirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest, and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: But there was always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius, (1), who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent

(1) A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58. Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small an one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended, that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had credit and address enough to have the justest of all the Romans elected; I mean Cato, whom he * removed from the republic, under the pretext of an honourable commission, that he might not find him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says an historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vices sufficiently authorized the seizing of all his fortunes.

Cato (m), upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not however in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put

(m) Plut. in Cato, p. 776.

* P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relegavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is--- mitteretur in insulam Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemaeum, omnibus morum vitis eam contumeliam meritum. Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 45.

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to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, tho' he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby * shewed, that he loved them better than he did himself; by title, king of Cyprus, but in fact, the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines; after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried these treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost seven thousand talents, (one million and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publicly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and shew themselves not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. † “ The Ro-

* *Proculdubio hic non possedit divitias, sed a divitiis possessus est; titulo rex insulae, animo pecuniae miserabile mancipium.*

† *Ptolemaeus, rex, si nondum socius at non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura et sceptro et illis insignibus regiis, praeconi publico subjiceretur, et imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur. Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est: vivus (ut aiunt) est et videns, cum victu et vestitu suo, publicatus. En cur caeteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni perduto exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spoliari (posse) et regno omni nudari. Cic. orat. pro Sextio. n. 57.*

man people, says Cicero, instead of making it their honour and almost a duty, as formerly, to re-establish the kings their enemies, whom they had conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally, or at least a constant friend to the republic, who had never done them any wrong, of whom neither the senate nor any of our generals had ever the least complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a sudden without any formality, and all his effects sold by auction almost before his eyes, by order of the same Roman people. This, continues Cicero, shews other kings, upon what they are to rely for their security; from this fatal example they learn that amongst us, there needs only the secret intrigue of some seditious tribune, for depriving them of their thrones, and plundering them, at the same time, of all their fortunes.

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans!) should lend his name and services in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shews however, in the same discourse I have now cited, but an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus came thither to him. I reserve for the following book the history of that prince, which merits a particular attention.

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BOOK XX.

THE twentieth book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the history of the Jews, from Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the rank of king, to the reign of Herod the great, the Idumæan.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate of what it was most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history to the reign of Herod the great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed in it. Dean Prideaux whom I have used here, may be also consulted to the same effect.

SECT. I. *Reign of Aristobulus I. which lasted two years.*

HYRCANUS, high-priest and prince of the Jews (a), had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Janæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and

(a) A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de bell. Jud. 1, 3.

title of king, which none of those who had governed Judaea from the Babylonish captivity, had done besides himself. The conjuncture seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides it was natural for Aristobulus to take the advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. For his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government; but some small time after, upon a false accusation, put him to death. He confined the other three in a prison during his life.

When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority his father had enjoyed (b), he entered into a war with the Ituraeans, and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had the Idumaeans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmoneans. It shews, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion.

(b) A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de bel. Jud. 1, 3.

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SECT. II.

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Ituraea, inhabited by the people in question, was a part of Coelo-Syria, on the north east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of the Jordan, and the territory of Damascus.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituraea to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took the advantage of this illness, to alienate the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of the tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was made a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus, was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was violently affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in the highest grief and despair.

SECT. II. *Reign of Alexander Jannaeus, which continued twenty seven years.*

Salome, the wife of Aristobulus (c), immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander

(c) A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de bel. Jud. 1, 3.

Jannaeus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in tranquillity as a private person (d), he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this passed, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, altho' they were brothers. Cleopatra and Alexander the youngest of her sons reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannaeus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a good army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard in his return, he was beat by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For from the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions, with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

(d) Id. Antiq. xiv. 8.

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This loss, great as it was (e), did not prevent his going to seize Raphia and Anthedon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus. Those two posts that were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of Jordan, and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

As soon as his affairs would permit (f), he came with a numerous army to besiege their city, Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. His own brother Lyfimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as bad as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance it was thought, by his behaviour and the orders he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he gave his soldiers permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed him almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that antient and famous city to an heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

Some time after the people affronted him in the most hainous manner (g). At the feast of the tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering a solemn sacrifice in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw

(e) A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100.

(f) A. M. 3906 Ant. J. C. 98 A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

(g) A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of *Slave*; a reproach, which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was an effect of what Eleazer had presumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed to the number of six thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected in regard to him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of six thousand men, that attended him every where.

When Alexander saw the storm which had rose against him (h) a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews (i), incensed at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his loss, that they should find no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions.

Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up (k), carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day: when they were fixed to the cross, he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execu-

(h) A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94 (i) A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.
(k) A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.

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tion, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, that brought a quartan ague upon him (l), of which he died at three years end, after having reigned twenty seven.

He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and chuse which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECT. III. *Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus her eldest son is high-priest during that time.*

According to the advice of her husband (m), Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so she only conformed to the last will of her husband.

By this step she gained so much upon them, that forgetting their hatred for the dead, tho' they carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into a respect and veneration for his memory, and instead of the investives and reproaches they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour and credit much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magni-

(l) A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79.

(m) A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. and de bell. Jud. 1, 4.

science, than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees, stood with them for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest: he was then near thirty years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. They first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceeding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one, and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than to give way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less,* by way of precaution against a greater evil.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right sense of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

The Pharisees always continued (n) their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy

(n) A. M. 3932. Ant. J. C. 73. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. and de bell. Jud. 1, 4.

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those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and in all the difficulties with which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, under her government, that every thing they had done for him, should be made criminal, and to see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of enquiries, or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to their seeking an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to act in nothing without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the inquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer; and that therefore they never would come into it. On the other side, the queen believed, that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into the places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages in that conduct; the first was, that their

enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have their arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve; upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper (o), which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given of them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received in them with open arms, and in fifteen days time twenty-two of these towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people as well as the army were intirely inclined to declare for him, weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without controul under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to all the world. They came therefore in crowds from all sides to follow the standards of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could not be expected from Hyrcanus his brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: Besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary to so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean genius.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what had passed, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However she appointed Hyrcanus her heir general, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they had

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caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of * Baris, as hostages against himself. But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris: his partisans took refuge in the temple. Some time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT. IV. *Reign of Aristobulus II. which continued six years.*

IT was agreed by the accommodation (p), that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priesthood, and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortunes. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things, and quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased, to which the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod, gave birth. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained the ascendant of Hyrcanus their eldest son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown (q).

(p) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

(q) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65 Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2---8. and de bell. Jud. 1---5.

Baris was a castle situate upon an high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

But when he saw all his measures broke by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne.

The latter, by his secret negotiations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to re-instate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates was arrived in Syria (r). He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to demand that they should be freed from the government of both the one and the other. They represented, that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their fore-fathers: That the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And, to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principals of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity; that his sloth and indolence rendered him intirely incapable of the public affairs; that the people despised him, and that he, Aristobulus, had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than his father Alex-

(r) Id. xiv. 5. Id. de bell. Jud. 1---5.

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ander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendor and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanor, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern, that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust, but would not however pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart; he therefore dismissed the two brothers respectfully, and told them, that at his return from reducing Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass thro' Judaea, and that he would then regulate their affair, and make the necessary dispositions in all things.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly from Damascus without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judaea, armed his subjects, and prepared for a good defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas, till then, had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions. Pompey however advanced as far as Petra his capital, which he took. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard; but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprized till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judaea. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. The place was extremely strong, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last gave into the opinion of those about him, who apprehending a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so, and after a conversation which

turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same two or three times, in hopes by that complacency to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decree against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been done him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolution to keep the crown, made him the sport of the different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complacency to incline him to it. When on the contrary he had the least reason to suspect, that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. Such was the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place, where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death; as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an intire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money; but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him, and instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and

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advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation, and the works which had been made; and had it not been divided within doors against itself, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place; especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain where the temple stood, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley which surrounded it, to be broke down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three months intire, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprize, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the Sabbath. They believed indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take the advantage of this inaction upon the Sabbath days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, with which so great a part of the wall fell, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were at that time employed in divine service, continued it with a surprizing unconcern, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they offered, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: happy and worthy of being envied, if they were as faithful to the spirit, as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the Sanctum Sanctorum, into which, by the law, only the high-priest was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what afflicted and enraged the Jews most against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, that consisted principally in sums which had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand * talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the God adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans upon the only religion of the true God. They blasphemed what they knew nothing of.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that his taking the temple of Jerusalem was his last victory.

SECT. V. *Reign of Hyrcanus II. which continued twenty-four years.*

POMPEY having put an end to the war (s), caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established

(s) A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

* Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

† Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. in primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapientur, quod in tam suspiciosa ac maledica civitate locum sermoni obrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse --- istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat. Cic. pro Flacco. n. 67 -- 69.

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Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judaea, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judaea, where he afterwards excited new troubles.

Hyrcanus (t) finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and re-instated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood *. He made great alterations in the civil government, for from monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration.

Craffus (u) upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopt at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents, that is to say, about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Caesar (v), after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead; and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Caesar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed, that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sove-

(t) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de bell. Jud. 1. 6.

(u) A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54.

(v) A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. de bell. Jud. 1, 8.

reignty of Judaea, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judaea under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinus was abolished, and the government of Judaea re-established upon the antient foot.

Antipater caused the (w) government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasaël his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

Caesar (x), at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Caesar was killed this year.

During the civil wars, Judaea, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

Pacorus, (y) son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judaea, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasaël, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them, and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem, the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasaël in chains into his hands. Phasaël, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall, to avoid the hands of the executioner. For Hyrcanus his life was granted him, but to render him incapable of the priest-hood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off. For according to the Levitical law (z), it was

(w) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de bell. Jud. 1, 8.

(x) A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17.

(y) A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de bell. Jud. 1, 11.

(z) Liv. xxi. 16,---24.

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requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the east, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judaea. (a) He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the coming of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him intire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendor. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come, but put him to death some years afterwards.

Herod at first took refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Anthony was then in the high degree of power, which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for † Aristobulus, whose sister Mariamne he had lately married, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater had done under Hyrcanus; Anthony caused the crown to be conferred upon himself, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give crowns to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judaea by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negotiating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judaea. He employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

(a) Joseph Antiq. xv. 2.

† Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

SECT. VI. *Reign of Antigonus of only two years duration.*

IT was not so easy for Herod (b) to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judaea, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne, which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

Herod, (c) who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Anthony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judaea.

Whilst the works necessary to the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: but the unforeseen troubles, into which he fell, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus the second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonaeon family, made Herod imagine, that by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place however held out against them many months with exceeding resolution, and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and

(b) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39.

(c) A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27, Id. de bell. Jud. 1, 13.

(d) A.

(e) Joseph.

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the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than them, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

The Jews (d) being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the pains they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other.

Antigonus seeing all lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Anthony, as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph; but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that branch of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money (e). He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

This ended the reign of the Asmonaeans, after a duration of an hundred and twenty-nine years, from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabaeus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judaea.

This singular, extraordinary, and till then unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumaeon, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated

(d) A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

(e) Joseph. Antiq. ibid. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 405.

prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing, or being apprized of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: *The (f) scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be. The scepter or rod* (for the Hebrew signifies both) implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the antient Jews have explained this prediction to denote the Messiah; the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, That as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the second, That it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published †.

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod the Idumaean, and in consequence stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority, which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, were first taken from it. The tribe of Judah had no longer the supremacy, it was no longer a body subsisting, from which the magistrates were taken. It

(f) Gen. xlix. 10.

† By F. Babuty Rue St. Jaques.

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was manifest therefore, that the Messiah was come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? in the times of Titus Vespasian, and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remains of Judah. It was therefore before those times the Messiah came.

How wonderful does God appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our matter? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away than that decree of God not be fulfilled. Anthony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrives there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing difficult to the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Asia Major, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threescore and fourteen years; of which two hundred and fifty four were before Jesus Christ, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacides. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæus. I

shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before Jesus Christ, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

I have observed elsewhere what gave (g) Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great, and in what manner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactria revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*.

Some time after Seleucus Callinicus (h), who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first.

Antiochus surnamed the great (i), was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in re-conquering the revolted provinces. Antiochus (k) marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation.

PRAPATIUS, the son of Arsaces II. succeeded his father, and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I. his eldest son.

Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES (l), whom he prefer-

(g) A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. Vol. VII.

(h) A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236. Vol. VII.

(i) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Vol. VII.

(k) A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

(l) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

† The Abbe Longueue, in his Latin dissertation upon the Arsacides, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Prapattius. Justin says nothing of them.

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red before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit, and who was in effect one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had. He carried his arms farther than Alexander the great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner.

PHRAATES II. (m) succeeded Mithridates his father. Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretext of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown, and killed in the last, and his army intirely cut in pieces. Phraates, in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

ARTABANUS (n) his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was MITHRIDATES II. of whom Justin says, that his great actions acquired him the surname of *Great*.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace, which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as an hostage. The latter (o) was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates, king of Pontus, in the war against the Romans.

Antiochus Eusebes (p) took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

It was the same Mithridates (q), as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given place to Sylla.

Demetrius Eucerus (r), who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Baerea, was defeat-

(m) A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

(n) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

(o) A. M. 3909. Justin. l. 18. c. 3.

(p) A. M. 3992. Ibid. p. 115.

(q) A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

(r) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.

ed and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all the honours possible. He died there of disease.

Mithridates II. died (s), after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The domestic troubles, with which his death was followed, and considerably weakened the Parthian empire, made his loss still more sensible. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and after him SINATROCCES, kings, of whom almost nothing more is known than their names.

PHRAATES (t), the son of the latter, was he, who caused himself to be surnamed THE GOD.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote him the letter, which Sallust has preserved.

Pompey (u) having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

After Pompey's (v) return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place.

Tigranes, king of Armenia, dies almost at the same time. Artavazdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates (w), expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinus, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the

(s) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

(t) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

(u) A. M. 2938. Ant. J. C. 66.

(v) A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 96.

(w) Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

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throne; but without effect. He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon (x), and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who considering him only as an enemy, and not a brother, causes him to be put to death; by which means ORODES becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

But he found enough to employ him abroad (y), that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, with Pompey for the second time. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he ran even into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to forget himself in a strange manner. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia: he flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like the feats of infants in comparison with his. He already over-ran in thought Bactria and the Indias, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, Parthia was in no manner included: but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out with gaiety of heart, to carry a war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city thro' which he was to

(x) A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.

(y) A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. Plut. in Crass. p. 552, 554.

pass, and set a cauldron full of fire before him. When Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present tremble with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundisium, and tho' the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost abundance of ships in his passage. When he arrived in Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, tho' of a very advanced age, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect, *King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build a city at the † twelfth hour of the day. And you, Lord Crassus, replied* Dejotarus, *are not too early in setting out to make war against the Parthians.* For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed, (z) that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it worth his trouble to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in it there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that use: this was known only by Eleazar the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minae, each of which weighed two pound and a half. Eleazar, who was apprized of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, to save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant to imagine any

† The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

(z) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

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thing sacred with avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold, and notwithstanding made the rest of the treasures his plunder, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. He then continued his rout.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction or enterprize to give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion, and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus in consequence was master of the field, and over-ran, without opposition, the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities with no resistance, and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left seven thousand foot and a thousand horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Caesar sent to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, given by the general to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him a thousand chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without

staying, and not to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commissions in few words. They told him, that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, against the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity of the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, rather shut up than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke no doubt of the garrisons left by Crassus in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, *They should have his answer in the city of Seleucia.* Upon which the most antient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made answer, laughing, and shewing him the palm of his hand; *Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow in the palm of my hand, than Seleucia.* The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice, that he must prepare for war.

As soon as the season would permit (a), Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time during the winter, to assemble a very great army, to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places Crassus had made himself master of the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopo-

(a) A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53. Plut. in Crass. p. 554.

tamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of a weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to defend.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, that Lucullus had so easily overthrown; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to experience great battles and great dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion, that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprize. But Crassus listened to no other advice, but of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasus, king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of six thousand horse, which were part of his guards; adding, that besides these, he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reasons with which he supported this advice were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian horse, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered intirely usefess to them: that

if they took this rout, he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if he marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would be deficient, and he would have a powerful army in his front, on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The counsel was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable: but Crassus, blinded by providence, which intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabafus, who returned into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that providence blinded Crassus, which is self evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark upon it; this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a warrior. He says, "that the Romans under Crassus had no salutary view, and were either ignorant upon all occasions of what was necessary to be done, or in no condition to execute it; so that one would have thought, that, condemned and pursued by some divinity, they could neither make use of their bodies nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was he whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste therefore to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men, that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops passed the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the faces of his soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge, and broke

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down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them in the best manner he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluding his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to re-assure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse, which seemed to have fled suddenly as if they had been pursued.

Upon his advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes, and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians; as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to blows with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view; or if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; because by always keeping upon the coast of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthians to surround him; and that, with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's questor, and the same who afterwards killed Caesar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of coming into it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as

grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they might attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the horse under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders, that all who had occasion for refreshment should eat under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible, as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached, and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle, than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most frightful noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other, the noise made by these instruments was rude and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those Barbarians had well observed, that of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing; that it strikes upon, and effects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner change its nature.

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The trouble and dismay into which this noise had cast the Romans, were quite different, when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sun beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise. For he painted after the fashion of the Medes, and like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear the more terrible.

At first the Barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of that hollow square, so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm, and supported each other successfully, they fell back, and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broke. But the Romans were much astonished to see their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were reduced by an hail of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay began now, upon experiencing the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves to shooting at a distance, without its being possible for them to miss, tho' they had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because drawing their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wisely conceived; for in flying they saved their lives, and in fighting avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes, that the Barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy, there were camels laden with arrows, whither those, who had exhausted their quivers, wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and (a) eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand before a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or rather designed to draw off young Crassus as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, *they don't stand us*, pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance

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from their main body, they discovered their error; for those who had seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those Barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and sent out detachments of their light-horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and by being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a kind of butt for every arrow shot at them, and died by slow but cruel deaths. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pains they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated across their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and encreased their pains.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive, were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they shewed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through, and riveted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves, or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops, with weak and short javelins, struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the Barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest con-

fidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, leaped and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They fastened their horses in the centre, and made an inclosure with their bucklers, by way of intrenchment; in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the Barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in an even place, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground shewing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows, which the Barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally the marks of them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carrae. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so sad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was not very remote. But he replied, *That the fear of no death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many*

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brave men, who died out of love for him. A noble sentiment for a young lord ! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners, and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice, that they were put to the rout, and pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to abate considerably of their ardour ; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the Barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him, that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

The Parthians, who returned from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived, that moment with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprized the unfortunate father of his misfortune. The Barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, they asked them of what family and relations that young

Roman was: *For, said they, it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus.*

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, shewed more constancy and courage on this disgrace, than he had done before; and running through the ranks, he cried out. "Romans, this mourning regards only me. The fortune and glory of Rome are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you continue firm and intrepid. If you have any compassion for a father, who has just now lost a son; whose valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and resentment against the Barbarians. Deprive them of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfortune. There is a necessity for experiencing some loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucullus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio, Antiochus, without costing them some blood. It is after the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune she has attained to so high a degree of power, but by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself with vigour against adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to re-animate his troops: but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army, even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal and timorous; whereas that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given in consequence, the light-horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, distressed them extremely with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one great body; except those, who, to avoid the arrows, of which the wounds occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Tho' they did not do them much hurt, their au-

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dacity was attended with this advantage ; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the Barbarians thrust their lances thro' their bodies with such force and vigour, that they often killed two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, upon night's coming on, the Barbarians retired ; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to being dragged to their king Arsaces. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation, that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in compleating its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his particular distress. For they all saw plainly, that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in the camp, or ventured, during the night, to throw themselves into that immense plain, of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off, would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight ; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible, that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But for him, lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloke, he was to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune ; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and mean, because there were two above him, Caesar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him. But seeing him intirely depressed by the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after the sick and wounded, who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops who marched foremost, were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up in battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded who followed them upon the beasts of carriage, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost abundance of time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carrae. Ignatius called to the centinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But the next day early entered the camp, and put all the wounded, who had been left there, to the

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number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took abundance of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the gross of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the Barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitude, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who, with sword in hand, fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The Barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them passage. They arrived safe at Carrae.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with the best of his troops, and that those who had retired to Carrae, were only a militia, that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it were or not, desired to be better informed, in order to his resolving either to besiege Carrae, if Crassus were there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore dispatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carrae, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself or Cassius, and to say, that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the Barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, That Surena was inclined to treat with them, and to permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: That this was more advantageous for both parties than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius came into this, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Cassius should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him, that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared, that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such exceeding deceit, told Crassus, that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important, that not one of the inhabitants of Carrae should know this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians in consequence were not long before they were fully apprized of the whole plan, by the means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it impossible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places abounding with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some, who suspecting, that it was with no good design Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carrae. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains called *Sinnachi*, and were in a place of

safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, still embarrassed by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him. He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to make, before he joined the troops under Octavius. All he could do, was to gain as soon as possible another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the *Sinnachi*, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains, that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences, with a small number of soldiers, to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who, reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the Barbarians so rudely, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body, till they were all dead around him, fighting in his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and if the night came on, and the Romans should make the mountains, that it would be impossible for him to take them, he had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing war with the Romans; that on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great hu-

manity. And that the effects might agree with their expressions, as soon as the prisoners were released, the Barbarians retired from the fight, and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill, with his bow unstrung and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said with a loud voice; That contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; and that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with intire security on his part. We have observed on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these Barbarians, was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no^e scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it: but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the Barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches; and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies, with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to intreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day upon the eminencies and difficult places, where they then were, they might easily save themselves when night came on: He even shewed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and turning about, he

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only said these few words: "Octavius, and you Petronius, with all the officers and captains here present, you see the necessity I am under of taking a step I would willingly avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, for the honour of Rome our common mother, that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his liſtors, who would have followed him.

The first person the Barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who diſmounting from their horses, ſaluted him with profound reſpect, and told him in the Greek-tongue, that he had only to ſend ſome of his attendants, and Surena would ſatisfy him, that himſelf, and thoſe with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions poſſible. Crassus replied, that had he ſet the leaſt value upon his life, he ſhould not have come to have put himſelf into their hands; and ſent two brothers, named Roſcius, to know only upon what foot they ſhould treat, and in what number.

Surena cauſed thoſe two brothers to be ſeized and kept priſoners, and advancing on horſeback, followed the principal officers of his army, as ſoon as he perceived Crassus, *What do I ſee!* ſaid he, *What! the general of the Romans on foot, and we on horſeback! Let an horſe be brought for him immediately.* He imagined, that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of reſpect. Crassus replied, *That there was no reaſon to be ſurprized that they came to an interview, each after the * cuſtom of his own country.* Very good, returned Surena, *from henceforth let there be a treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Romans: But we muſt go to prepare and ſign the articles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For you Romans,* added he, *do not always remember your conventions.* At the ſame time

* Amongſt the Romans the conſul always marched on foot, at the head of infantry.

he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for an horse; but Surena told him, there was no occasion for for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers, taking him round the middle, set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards fast. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle. Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force, who pressed Crassus forwards. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those Barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great wound with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those that were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise some went down, and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped: all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received from the battle of Cannae. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these wrecks another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of

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which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat ought in one sense to have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannae, because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannae, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thoughts but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected, and formidable to all nations: She was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa, lately victorious over one of the most powerful enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory shewed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and of disputing the empire of the universe with them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them apprehend for their own safety. It shewed that the Romans might be overthrown in pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians, was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shewn by them as spoils. The * prisoners taken in that

* Milesne Crassi conjuge Barbara
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit focerorum in armis;

fatal day were kept there in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standard of the Barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans; which was looked upon by Augustus, and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace! For themselves they never could forget it. Caesar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Anthony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius Severus, &c. The surname of *Parthicus* was the title of which they were fondest, and most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates, to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastations into Syria, and even into Palestine, in a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke, and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carrae was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabafus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving by the false measures he took, that the Romans were infallibly lost, treated an

Sub rege Medo Marfus et Appulus,
Anciliorum, nominis, et togæ
Oblitus, eternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove, et urbe Roma?

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accommodation with Orodes, and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus, the son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight, and it was said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, to reproach the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous, who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, when a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take place, instead of acknowledgment and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. He was of consummate ability at thirty years of age, and surpassed all men of his times in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man, and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown on the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines, and for

* *Destitui per hanc fortunam suam Caesar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenire, pro gratia odium redditur. Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 18.*

his guard, a thousand horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops, and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

The next (a) year the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity to Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who disposed every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a great detachment of the Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and intirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

(a) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. ad Famil. l. ii. epist. 10, 17. iii. 2, xii. 19. xv. 1, ---4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18, 20, 21. vi. 1, 8. vii. 2.

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The news of this defeat, and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonía, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were reduced to retire. That was no wonder; the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to field-battle, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprized of the rout they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them intirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of Mount Amanus, who being situate between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with, both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero, intirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves (b) free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings, who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country, as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they perpetually harrassed.

It is Cicero himself who relates these circumstances in several of his letters. There are two amongst the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner, in which a general or commander ought to give a prince or his ministry an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind con-

(b) Eleuthero Cilices.

sists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of familiar epistles; the other is wrote particularly to Cato. This last is a master-piece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us (c), that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it, upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Caesar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, argues in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, and those that followed, the Parthians, declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events, which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgment of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Anthony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who, from the lowest condition of (d) life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before

(c) Plut. in Cic. p. 879.
Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4:

(d) Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 65.

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that general. Supported by the credit of C. Caesar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and passed through all the degrees of the army, he became praetor and consul. He was the only person that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said, that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carrae. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, compleated the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That (c) general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were much advanced, would prevent him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be intirely in the interests of the Parthians and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means to draw the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed, that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians did not design to pass the Euphrates at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry, in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they

(c) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 403. 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other rout, lost abundance of time in the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon of Judaea join him, with the legions quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situate very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops poured showers of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carrae fourteen years before.

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* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him, and as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent person the house of the Arsacides had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection, into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of which solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendant she had over a spirit impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined however to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAATES, the eldest and most vicious of them all. He had scarce taken (f) possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by

(f) A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

* Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitus clade audita, ex dolore in furem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum fumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverat, nihil aliud quam Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat. Justin.

the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner, and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel in regard to all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I Have spoke, in several parts of this history, of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country (g) of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whom it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended toward mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major, the other toward Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor; they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the time (h) Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Ma-

(g) Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

(h) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

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cedonia, and Ochus in Persia; admitting that the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named *Ariarathes*, then by kings called *Ariobarzanes*, who did not exceed the third generation; and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost intirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

ARIARATHES I. (i) He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection.

Having joined the Persians (k) in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

ARIARATHES II. son of the former, (l) had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed for the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thousand foot, and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. after the death of his father, escaped into Armenia.

(i) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 336.

(k) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 352.

(l) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diocl. l. xviii. p. 599.

As soon as he was apprized of the (m) death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment the other wars gave Antigonus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops, lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and re-ascended the throne of his ancestors.

ARIAMNES his eldest son succeeded him (n). He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARATHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He (o) married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artificial princess, who, finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent one of the supposed children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The true son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks.

ARIARATHES V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariarathes sent (p) ambassadors to Rome, to ask the se-

(m) A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

(n) A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284.

(o) A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190.

(p) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37, and 39.

* He is called so by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

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nate's pardon, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans, in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the east, sent ambassadors to transact a treaty between those three princes: But Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator, and for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him the proofs of it, in resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had all possible affection and respect for a father that so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but a mortal wound to so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and were the more admired; as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

ARIARATHES VI. surnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death; and was an excellent prince. As soon (q) as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to

(q) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. That refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended himself the brother of (r) Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest lords, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been revered by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution, which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers. Ariarathes found a more immediate and more effectual protector, in the person of (s) Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, was for obliging the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whatsoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a

(r) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334, and 336.

(s) A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy, notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had (t) retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes: but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who (u) had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in that war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycania and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be at age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She had treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderers of her children.

ARIARATHES VII. (v) He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, and had two sons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. (w) His brother-in-law caused him to be murdered by Gordius, one

(t) Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

(u) A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 139. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

(v) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

(w) A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91.

of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes, whom he had caused to be assassinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recal Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him with a dagger concealed for that purpose in the view of the two armies. He sent his own son of only eight years old in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor (x). The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the vexations of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew, and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a distemper on him of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years old, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice his wife went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify, that she had three sons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this which she produced, was the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that his son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Asia-

(x) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

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rather who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome, to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty! but there are capricious and corrupt nations, to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few people, who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

ARIOBARZANES I. (y) This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and reinstated Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion (z), was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him upon the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia.

(y) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176. &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

(z) A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

The prince who reigned at that time was ARTOBARZANES III. grandson of ARIOBARZANES I.

ARTOBARZANES III. Cicero (a), upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people: A glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot; that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother, who had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the credit his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His *endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his constancy, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to make him change sides. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia, and the other in the kingdom of Pontus (b). They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great credit, and

(a) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cic. Epist. 2. et 4. l. xv. ad Famil. et Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

(b) Strab. l. xii. p. 535, et 557.

† Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat 'Εν παροῦσι consilio et auctoritate, et quod proditoribus ejus ἀποδοῖναι με, non modo ἀδολοχῶν, praebui, regem, regnumque servavi. Cic. Epist. 20. l. 5; ad Attic.

so considerable, that only the king was his superior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above six thousand persons consecrated to the service of this temple. From hence the high priest was so powerful; and † in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties. had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Caesar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain he exacted very considerable sums of money from him (c): for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Caesar was then in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother were in no very good understanding, and intirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Caesar had conquered Pharnaces (d), he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

This good treatment (e) gave the murderers of Caesar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not

(c) Caesar de bell. Civ. 4. iii. Hist. de bell. Alex.

(d) Diod. l. xlii. p. 183.

(e) A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. Diod. l. xlvii.

† Cum magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, et toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfecti ut e regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulae communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret, Cic. Epist. 4. lib. 15, ad Famil.

favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just diffidence of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes, the kingdom of Cappadocia remained to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana in Cappadocia. This Archelaus, was the grandson of Archelaus a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the following book (f), and joined the Romans. He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He obtained a very honourable dignity of Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus (g). The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, who possessed it. Mark Anthony was the judge of this difference, and determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes re-ascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Anthony expelled him (h), and set Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, upon the throne.

ARCHELAUS (i). That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Anthony, by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep posses-

(f) Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Diod. l. xxxix. p. 116.

(g) A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41. Appian. de bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675.

(h) A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. Diod. l. xlix. p. 411.

(i) A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. Plut. in Anton. p. 944.

(k)
Diod. l.
Strab. l.
(l)
ton. in
• Ne
causa co
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† Re
invisus
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sion of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

He assisted Tiberius (k) to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

His reign was very long and happy (l): but his latter years were unfortunate, in effect of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him *; to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Caesars, and to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandisement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had occasion to withdraw from business and the hurry of Rome for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. † During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not very re-

(k) A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Diod. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. 8. Diod. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. 14. p. 671. et l. xii. p. 536.

(l) A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. 10. Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 99.

* Ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab focero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit. Patere. l. ii. c. 99.

† Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadocia potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quod eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec ad Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florebat Caio Caesare, missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

mote from thence, residing general at * Eleusis, paid him no honours, forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous, at that time. On the contrary (m), when young Caius Caesar, appointed governor of the east, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It had been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as had been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius † Atticus, who during the divisions, with which the republic was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus (n). He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of

(m) A. M. 4002. A. D. 12.

(n) A. M. 4020. A. D. 17.

* Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. Strab. l. xlv. p. 651.

† Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare quantae sit sapientiae, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque inter quos maximarum rerum non solum aemulatio, sed obsecratio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Caesarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem not solum urbis Romanae sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet. Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. 20.

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his kingdom. The * king of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him; but age, the gout, and more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He had reigned two and fifty years. After his death Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able from his new acquisition to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca (o), a city situated upon the mountain Argea, and was governed by the laws of † Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo only calls Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades, where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates, having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damages in Cappado-

(o) Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539.

* Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti a principe, et mox accusatus a senatu; non ob crimina, quae fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus aequa, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitae sponte an fato implevit. Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 42.

† This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Graccia Major, of whom mention has been made.

cia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that torrent, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses (p), and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbid to have any of them. It furnished also great numbers of † slaves and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the question by the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury (q), though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst them; *Lend me your evidence (r), and I'll pay you with mine.*

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced however some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators; and it became a proverb, that § a rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

(p) Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii.

(q) Cic. pro Flacco. n. p. 10.

(r) Da mihi testimonium mutuum.

† Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex. Horat.

§ Θαπτον την λευκην κορακας πτηνασ τε χελωνας
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The End of VOLUME IX.



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